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# ECLECTIC REVIEW,

MDCCCXXXIX.

JANUARY—JUNE.

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Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρεῖον τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικὴν ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἐκάστη τῶν αἱρεσέων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σὺμπαν το' ΕΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι.

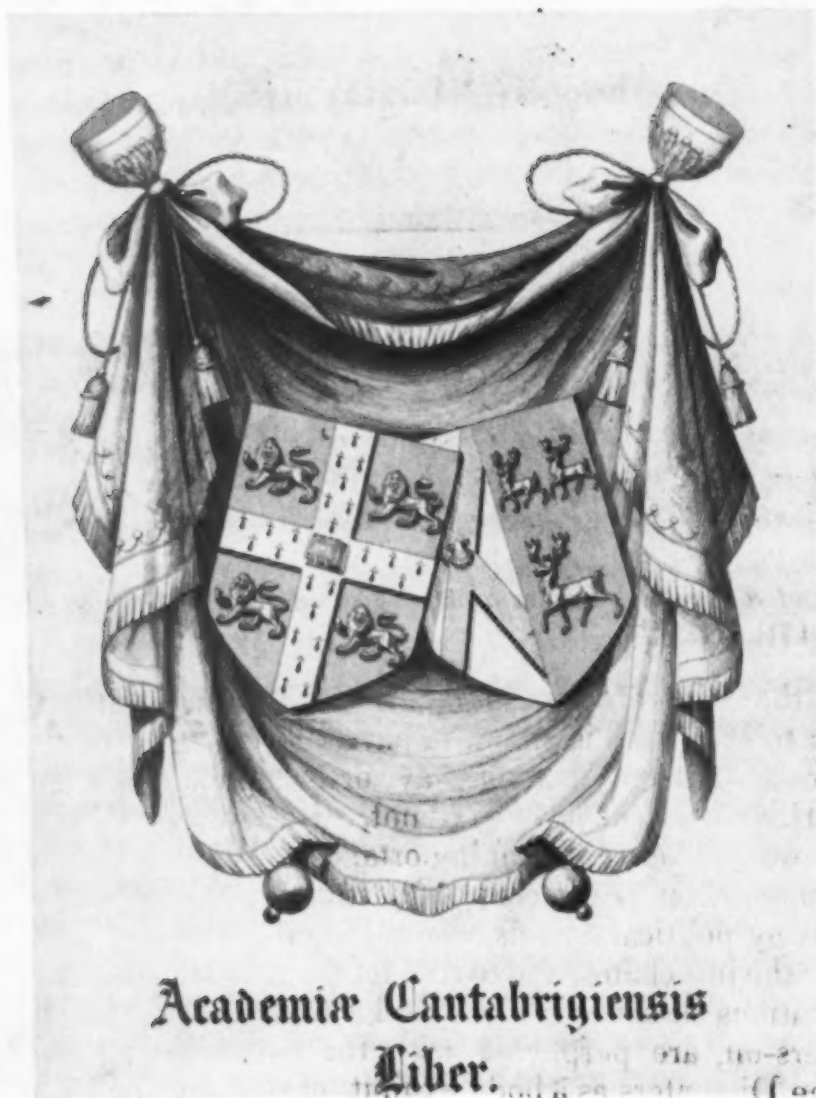
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THE  
**ECLECTIC REVIEW**

FOR JANUARY, 1839.

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- Art. I. 1. *Report of the Committee of Deputies of the Protestant Dissenters to the General Meeting on the 27th of December, 1837.*  
2. *Report of the Committee of the Church-rate Abolition Society, presented to the Public Meeting, May 8th. 1838.*  
3. *Lay Union for the Defence of the Established Church.* May 12th, 1838.  
4. *Plan of a General Union for the Promotion of Religious Equality.* Sept. 17th. 1838.

ARE the Dissenters gaining ground in this country in relation to the Establishment, or have they lost ground? Are the principles of Dissent making way, or is there a re-action against them? Have they, or have they not, miscalculated their strength, and over-rated their political importance? What is their position, and what are their prospects? Questions to this effect have been put to us by political friends whose liberal principles incline them to favour the just claims, and to respect the religious exertions of the denominations dissenting from the Established Church, but who, as lookers-on, are perplexed with the contradicting indications which the Dissenters as a body exhibit, of zeal and apathy, of union and division, of alternate strength and weakness; to-day carrying back a minister to power in opposition to the Court, the Church, and the majority of the gentry, and to-morrow shrunk into comparative insignificance; the gigantic bulk, like the genius of the casket in the 'Arabian Tale,' having become compressed to the dimensions of its prison. They are questions more likely, perhaps, to employ the speculations of politicians than of Dissenters themselves, who have not yet learned to estimate the advantages and duties of their new social position. But they deserve consideration, and call for an answer, which, upon the principle of being ready to give to every man who asks us a reason of our hope, we shall endeavour to supply.

In the first part of the ensuing observations, we shall consider ourselves as addressing the public friends of Dissenters, rather than the body to which we avow ourselves to belong; and we shall afterwards submit some free thoughts to those more especially who 'seem to be somewhat,' or who bear social or official sway among us, as directing Dissenting institutions and social movements.

We begin with the question, whether the Dissenters, who seemed a short time ago so powerful from numbers or from social influence, but whom the last election is supposed to have shown to be a much less formidable minority than had been calculated on,—have actually been over-rated, and, as the effect of that miscalculation, have lost ground to their opponents. Our answer is, that, if there has been any miscalculation, it has not been such as they are answerable for. The relative strength of the Dissenters may have been over-rated, but not by themselves. Up to this moment, the Protestant Dissenters of England are, we are firmly convinced, unconscious of the full amount of the social influence which, if properly organised, they might exert; and they have been apt to under-rate their numbers and resources, rather than to exaggerate them.\* If it has suited the policy of the Tories to represent the Reform Ministry as mainly indebted to the Dissenters for their accession to power and their maintenance of office; to ascribe the carrying of the great measures of Reform to Dissenting influence; to identify liberal principles with Dissent; in order to excite alarm and exasperate prejudice among the high-church party, and to pique the Whigs so as to lead them to draw off from those with whom they were alleged to be in so close alliance; why are the Dissenters to be blamed for exaggerations which have not originated with *them*? If they have gloried, it has been in the general recognition and triumph of those broad principles of justice and liberal policy for which they have always contended, but which, so long as asserted only by themselves, were but powerless opinions, or truths struggling for the mastery over error and interested prejudice. If they have spoken of their numbers, and rested their claims on statistical grounds, it has been in reply to statements absurdly ignorant or wilfully deceptive, framed with a view to reduce them to insignificance, when it

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\* Lord John Russell having expressed his wish to be furnished with an estimate of the number of Protestant Dissenters in the kingdom in 1828, the United Committee reported the ascertained amount of places of worship represented by them to be 2324, and the number of individuals, by conjectural computation, 976,080. The Wesleyans, Quakers, Moravians, and Swedenborgians, they estimated at 1,273,860; together, 2,249,940. That this estimate was very much below the mark, has been well ascertained. The English Dissenters now amount to nearly 5,000,000.

has suited the Tory journalists to change their note, and to destroy their own bugbear. The very first attempts made to ascertain the proportion of the population included in the various denominations, are of very recent date; and the attention of Dissenters was first directed to the subject by the overbearing assumptions and vaunts of their enemies. It is in reference to ecclesiastical questions, however, and as bearing upon the religious instruction of the people, that they have been led to institute such inquiries. Not being accustomed to regard themselves as a separate political party, they have never attempted to measure, much less have they ever vaunted of their independent strength.

So long, in fact, as a great political party remains united by common interests, or by a specific object, there is no motive for inquiring into the relative strength of the several sections of which it is composed, all internal differences being held in abeyance. For nearly a century, the Dissenters of every denomination had been included in that great party, having for its watchword, civil and religious liberty, the natural and hereditary leaders of which were the Whigs,\* and among the foremost and most distinguished champions of which occur the names of Chatham, Burke, Fox, Grattan, Mackintosh, and Russell. For two-thirds of a century, with brief intervals, the political leaders of this great party had been in opposition to the court, the ministry, and the church. It was thus, in a sense, the Dissenting party, because characterised by the maintenance of the principles which secure to the Dissenters their civil rights and religious privileges. But it was neither composed altogether of persons belonging to the Dissenting body, nor did it include *all* the religious Dissenters, a portion of these having always inclined to Toryism and arbitrary power.

Recent political changes, by placing the several parties in a different relative position, have, as a necessary consequence, tended to break up this compact alliance. In the first place, the repeal of the 'Sacramental Test' removed almost the only grievance felt by a wealthy class of hereditary nonconformists, who had most

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\* 'The principles of the Whigs lead them to be for the Revolution, and for every thing that has been done to support and establish that; and, therefore, those who, in their hearts, hate the Revolution, fortify and promote their designs by keeping up jealousy of all that body which alone can and must support it. The Whigs are indeed favoured by the Dissenters, because they see their principles are for toleration. . . . Many infidels who hate all religion and all churches alike (being only against the Church of England because it is in possession) do join with the Whigs and Dissenters, and appear for them: from thence, the ill-disposed Tories possess many of those who are better-minded with an opinion, that the Whigs favour the Dissenters only to ruin and destroy religion; and great multitudes of unthinking and ignorant men are drawn into this snare.'—*Burnet's Own Times, Conclusion.*



keenly resented the perpetuation of this shadowy barrier to political advancement; while the subsequent passing of the 'Catholic Relief Bill' was the consummation of the aims of a large section of aristocratic liberals. The reform of the representation had now, however, become inevitable; and the Whigs, taking part with the people, were borne on into place and power. But the very triumph of liberal principles was the dissolution of the popular confederacy, since the liberal party, though united still in general principles, had no longer a common and definite object; and, instead of being led on by those who had hitherto headed the reform movement, saw those leaders transformed, as ministers, into the umpires of the contest. A Government, from the responsibilities which devolve upon it, must always have distinct interests from the party by which it is at once supported and controlled. We speak not of any sinister or selfish interests connected with the enjoyment of power and patronage, but of the complex interests which are involved in every question of legislative policy; those of the crown, of the executive as such, and of the nation at large. Hence, the accession of the Whigs to power may be said to have broken up the Whig party.

Thus, as the result of circumstances in themselves auspicious, the Protestant Dissenters of this country find themselves no longer in close alliance with a liberal opposition party, headed by aristocratic magnates; but, thrown upon their own resources, have to fight their own battles, without leaders and without discipline. For the first time, their political strength or weakness has been made apparent, even to themselves; and they are not yet fully aware either of their altered position, or of the necessity under which it lays them of seeing to their proper interests. Is it to be wondered at, then, that they should exhibit, at the present moment, a feebleness of purpose and action arising from want of discipline and inexperience, and the entire want of any party organization? The phrase, 'Political Dissenters,' employed to stigmatise a portion of the body, implies a tacit admission, that heretofore Dissenters in general have not been political. It is time that they became so, as religious men and from religious motives; high time that they awoke to the duties, responsibilities, and perils of their social position.

But the question may be put to us, Who are the Dissenters? Of what denominations do they consist? What is their legal definition, and what their actual character? For the sake of any of our readers who may not be versed in such matters, we beg leave to explain, that the Protestant Dissenters of English History, in whose favour the provisions of the 'Toleration Act' were originally intended to operate, consist of the three denominations which have branched from the original Nonconformists; viz., the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists (or Independents), and the Baptists. Up to the middle of the last century, the Presbyterians

took the lead in numbers, wealth, and influence : and of 1400 Dissenting congregations in England and Wales, in 1716, more than a third were Presbyterian. Since the rise and spread of Unitarianism among their ministers, this denomination has, for the most part, merged in the other two ; and the small remnant which clings to the name and endowments of English Presbyterianism, now wholly detached from the general body of Dissenters, numbers only about 200 congregations, most of which are mere skeletons, while those of the Congregationalists, Baptists, and Scotch Presbyterians, in England, are between 3000 and 4000. Besides these three denominations, under the term Protestant Dissenters is popularly included the respectable Society of Friends, the followers of Fox, Barclay, and Penn, who, in numbers and wealth, are about equal to the Unitarian body ; and it is necessary to class as Dissenters, notwithstanding that they disclaim the appellation, the Wesleyan Methodists, who, in the course of a century, have sprung up to their present importance, and now form a compact sect nearly equal in numbers to the aggregate of all the other Nonconformists. In Wales, the Calvinistic Methodists form the largest nonconformist body. The English Romanists, and two or three small communities, are also commonly ranked, without strict propriety, among dissenters from the Established Church, as being non-established sects. The term Protestant Dissenter, however, properly and distinctively applies to neither the Methodist, the Quaker, the Moravian, the Swedenborgian, nor, of course, the Romanist ; and interested as they all are alike in resisting the exclusive pretensions of the Established Church, they have never generally united with the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist Dissenters in any political movement. When the metropolitan body of 'Deputies appointed to protect the civil rights of the Protestant Dissenters,' was instituted in 1732, the three denominations above-mentioned and the Society of Friends were the only dissenting communities in existence ; and by them the struggle for religious liberty has chiefly been maintained.

The political history of the English Protestant Dissenters during the greater part of the eighteenth century, may be said to consist of the proceedings of the Committee of Deputies, who have acted for the whole body very much as 'the Meeting for Sufferings' has done ever since 1675 for the Society of Friends. The latter is a standing committee, originally appointed for the purpose of advising and assisting in cases of suffering for conscience sake ; it is composed of Friends, under the name of correspondents, chosen by the several Quarterly Meetings, and who reside in or near the metropolis ; the same meetings also appoint members of their own in the country as correspondents, who are to join their brethren in case of emergency. This standing committee has



the general care of whatever may arise during the intervals between the yearly meetings, affecting the Society, and requiring immediate attention; particularly of those which may occasion an application to Government. The Committee of Dissenting Deputies was originally appointed at a public meeting, held in November, 1732, to consider of an application to the Legislature for the repeal of the 'Corporation and Test Acts;' but 'it soon became evident, that the Dissenters would derive considerable advantage, 'in other respects, from establishing a permanent body to superintend their civil concerns.' It was accordingly resolved, at a General Meeting, held in January, 1735-6, 'that there should be an annual choice of deputies to take care of the civil affairs of the Dissenters; and the elections of the committee by the deputies of the several congregations in and near the metropolis, have been continued annually to the present time. Shortly after their appointment, they were called upon, in various instances, to interpose for the protection of the civil rights of their brethren against new infringements; and they found it necessary 'to engage a solicitor who should make it a part of his stated business to acquaint the committee with any thing that may fall under his notice, which he apprehends can in any way affect the cause of civil and religious liberty, which the Protestant Dissenters have always professed to have at heart.' In October, 1739, it was resolved to issue a circular, announcing that a General Meeting of the Deputies would be holden on the first Wednesday in April, every year, 'to which if the Dissenters in the several counties of England would please to send persons properly authorised, it would be highly acceptable to the deputation in London, and highly serviceable to the Dissenting interests.' In consequence of this invitation, at the next Annual Meeting, 'several deputies were returned from the country;' but the call was at this time so partially responded to, that we do not find any trace of its having been repeated.

These steps were intended as preliminary to a new application to Parliament; but nothing more was done towards obtaining the repeal of the 'Test' for *nearly half a century*. This sudden abandonment of the object for which the Committee was originally instituted, might be owing in part to the course of political events, and to the danger which threatened the country from 'the unnatural rebellion in favour of a *Popish* pretender.' In the year 1745, the Committee issued a circular letter to all the congregations in the country, recommending their brethren to express their utmost zeal and loyalty at that crisis; several armed associations of Dissenters were formed, and some leading persons accepted of commissions from the King, by which they rendered themselves liable to the penalties of the 'Test Act.' The Government, therefore,

‘caused an act of indemnity to pass, by which the rebels and those who had thus associated to suppress the rebellion were included in the same amnesty.’\* This was, it seems, the origin of those annual acts of indemnity which continued to be passed from this time, suspending the operation of the Corporation and Test Acts, but allowing them still to disgrace the statute-book, as binding the Dissenters to good behaviour.

For fifteen years, from 1742 to 1767, the Committee were chiefly occupied with conducting the memorable contest with the City of London, in reference to the ‘Sheriff’s cause;’ which was at length terminated by the solemn ratification of their liberties by the judicial decision of the Lords, March 4th, 1767. In 1772, the Committee, in concurrence with the general body of Protestant Dissenting Ministers, applied to Parliament for relief in the matter of subscription to the Articles, exacted from all Dissenting ministers and schoolmasters. A bill was brought in for their relief, which passed the Commons, and was zealously supported in the Upper House by Lords Mansfield, Chatham, Camden, and Shelburne, but was lost by a majority of eighty against twenty-eight; and five years elapsed before, in 1779, the 19 Geo. III. c. 44, conceded the relief sought for.

For twenty years, that is, from the final decision of the Sheriff’s cause in 1767 to 1787, the Committee of Deputies appear to have relapsed into almost total inactivity. A few cases of local oppression were brought before them, to which they gave the requisite attention; but they troubled neither Parliament nor the Government with any fresh agitation, and they seem to have been well-nigh forgotten by the country. In the mean time, a deadly process had been rapidly going forward in the Presbyterian denomination. Between 1750 and 1770, Arianism had passed into Socinianism; and Dr. Priestley completed, by his writings and personal influence, the spiritual havoc which Dr. Taylor, of Norwich, had begun. In 1773, Mr. Theophilus Lindsey resigned his living, and subsequently became the high-priest of Unitarianism in Essex-street, Strand, where the Duke of Grafton, among other persons of distinction and opulence, was a regular attendant. Although no open rupture took place between the Dissenters of the three denominations in the metropolis, in consequence of the widening discrepancy of theological sentiment, cordial co-operation could scarcely be maintained; and the very life of Dissent seemed to be almost going out, when Methodism started into existence, to communicate a fresh impulse to religious society. The first Methodist society had been formed in 1739; but it was not till about 1765, that the organization of the body was so extensive as to include a hundred preachers in

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\* ‘History and Proceedings of the Deputies,’ 8vo. pp. 1–23.



Great Britain and Ireland; the number of members being 26,000. In three-and-twenty years afterwards, the number both of preachers and members had nearly trebled.

The old Dissenters witnessed the early operations of the Methodists, Calvinistic and Arminian, either with cold and qualified approval or with displacency and alarm; and there can be no doubt that political movements were in part forgotten in the absorbing theological excitement occasioned by the opposite influences of a chilling heresy and a burning enthusiasm. From 1765 to 1783, the nation was moreover occupied with the great struggle of the American colonies, first for liberty, and then for independence; and the Dissenters, who had in the two preceding reigns been looked upon with well-merited favour by the Court, were now, for the side they took in the American question, regarded with distrust by the sovereign, and stigmatized by the war party as republicans. This prejudice against them was greatly increased by the breaking out of the French Revolution; so that, when the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts was again mooted, every possible exertion was made by the clergy and the Tory party to get up meetings for the purpose of opposing the measure as threatening destruction to the Established Church.

The Committee of Deputies had resolved upon renewing their application to Parliament in December, 1786; and, in 1787, the subject had been brought forward in the House of Commons, in the form of a Resolution, by Mr. Beaufoy; but the motion, being opposed by Mr. Pitt and Lord North, was lost by a majority of 78. In 1789, Mr. Beaufoy again moved a Resolution to the same effect, which was defeated by a majority of only 20. The Committee, encouraged by this diminished opposition, took some energetic steps,—*recommending the Dissenting congregations in the country to form institutions similar to that of the Deputies, for such districts as should be found convenient.* Many of the meetings of the Committee in 1790 were accordingly attended by Delegates from the Dissenters of the several counties, *as well as by various members of the Established Church, who were zealous friends of Civil and Religious Liberty.* Mr. Fox's motion for leave to bring in a Bill for the repeal of the Test laws, on March 2, 1790, was, however, negatived by an overwhelming majority (294 against 105), Mr. Pitt having moved a call of the House, and employed the utmost force of ministerial influence, to crush the hopes of the Dissenters. Undismayed by this defeat, the Committee adopted the spirited recommendation, that *a standing Committee, composed of Delegates from all parts of the kingdom, should be appointed to meet in London for the purpose of concerting and pursuing measures for obtaining relief from the Legislature on the subject of the Test Laws*; and that the proportion of Delegates in this Committee should be twenty-one on the part of the Deputies

of the congregations in and near London, and forty-two for the remainder of the kingdom. In pursuance of this Resolution, several meetings of gentlemen appointed to form the permanent Committee were held early in 1791; and the first general meeting of this Committee, including twenty-nine Delegates from different counties, was held January 24, 1792, when it took the title of 'The Deputies and Delegates from the Protestant Dissenters of England and Wales appointed to obtain a repeal of the Test Laws.' During the following two years, this United Committee held frequent meetings, and circulated several addresses; but the circumstances of the times discouraged the renewal of an application to Parliament; and after 1794, their efforts appear to have been discontinued, as the last Annual Address of this body bears that date. Four-and-thirty years were to elapse before the debt of justice could be extorted from the Legislature; and by that time, how few members of this Committee were among the living!

The proceedings of the Deputies for the next fifteen years supply little matter for record or observation; their most important efforts being directed to prevent a scandalous infringement of the Toleration Act by the Jamaica Assembly in 1802, and again in 1807. At length, in 1809, Lord Sidmouth's memorable attempt 'to put the toleration of Protestant Dissenters on a new footing,' roused these somewhat sleepy guardians of the rights of the Dissenters from their unsuspecting tranquillity,—but not till the alarm had been raised throughout the country. In fact, it is very evident from the history of their proceedings, that, in the first instance, they were not very strongly opposed to a measure which affected to draw a line between the *regular* Dissenters and those who might not come under that character. There were, it seems, differences of opinion 'as to the description of persons who might *reasonably* expect from the Legislature the *advantages* of Dissenting ministers.' The '*general* opinion' appeared to be, 'that no alteration of the law was desirable.' Some were of a contrary opinion; and Lord Sidmouth explicitly stated, that 'from the communications he had had with several *respectable* Dissenters, he had understood they were desirous that some such measure as this should be adopted, or, at least, that they approved of it. He was much astonished, after this, at seeing Resolutions advertised upon the subject, with the name of a Member of Parliament to them, with whom he had also had communications.' The gentleman alluded to by his Lordship, was the late William Smith, Esq., for many years member for Norwich, who had, in 1805, been chosen permanent Chairman of the Committee of Deputies, and was consequently looked upon in the House of Commons as the spokesman and leader of the Dissenters. There can be no doubt that Mr. Smith, in common with his political



friends, was sincerely attached to the great principles of civil and religious liberty; but he belonged to a class of Dissenters who have never manifested any strong repugnance to the principle of an Establishment, or State interference in matters of religion. Mr. Belsham, the patriarch of Unitarianism, was a strenuous advocate of Ecclesiastical Establishments. It is not surprising, therefore, that Mr. Smith should have been disposed, in the first instance, to acquiesce in Lord Sidmouth's specious and insidious *improvements* upon the Toleration Act; and the very faint and languid opposition raised against the Bill by the Committee, led to the suspicion, that the interests of the Dissenters were in danger of being betrayed or compromised. The consequence was, that a new Association, the 'Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty,' was formed upon the spur of the emergency; and to the exertions of this body, and those of the Wesleyan Methodists, who felt themselves more particularly aggrieved by the provisions of the Bill, the demonstration of public opinion was chiefly owing, by which the measure was defeated. For some time, the Committee of Deputies had been losing the general confidence of the Dissenters. With a Unitarian Chairman, and, for many years, a Churchman for a Secretary, it was, indeed, ill fitted to represent the sentiments, or to protect the rights of the general body; and with large funds at its disposal, it had made no attempt to obtain any further concessions from the justice of the Legislature, 'unwilling to revive animosities, and preferring to wait till time and reason should have overcome prejudice and fear.' Some abortive Marriage Bills, intended to relieve the Unitarians, were brought into parliament; but the only Acts passed to extend the principle of the Toleration Act, during the ensuing nineteen years, were, the 52 Geo. III. c. 155, repealing the Conventicle Act, and the 53 Geo. III. c. 160, relieving persons who impugn the doctrine of the Holy Trinity from the penalties inflicted by several unrepealed statutes.

At length, after a long cessation of active efforts, during which the anniversary meetings of the Protestant Society alone gave intimation to the public, that the Dissenters had any rights to protect, any wrongs to be redressed, or any parties belonging to them who cared for their interests,—in March, 1827, a special meeting of the Committee of Deputies was convened, to consider 'the propriety of adopting immediate measures for the attainment of an object which, for reasons it were useless to particularize, a large proportion of the Dissenters had long, *perhaps too long*, altogether overlooked, or, at the best, had postponed to a distant and indefinite period.' That this movement did not originate with this Committee, is evident from the fact, that, towards the close of the preceding session of Parliament, the Committee of the Protestant Society had passed a Resolution stating, that they



had wished to persevere in applying to Parliament during that session for the repeal of the Test Act; but that, 'a *different opinion* being entertained by some respectable public bodies in London, and by some parliamentary friends, the Committee *will rather allow a postponement to the next session, than produce a schism among applicants whose united zeal and energies may all be required.* And to this *concession* they are additionally induced by assurances received, that strenuous exertions shall not be postponed beyond the commencement of the next session.' Accordingly, in March following, when the Committee of Deputies met, they deemed it expedient to invite the co-operation of other bodies of Dissenters; and after conference with deputations from the several societies, it was resolved to form a *United Committee*, 'to be styled, as that in the year 1787 was, The Committee appointed to conduct the application to Parliament for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts;' the Committee to consist of the Committee of Deputies and of a number of delegates, not exceeding six, from each of the societies and bodies in London desirous of acting in unison for this purpose. Those which complied with this invitation were, the Body of Ministers of the Three Denominations, the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, the United Associate Presbytery of London, and the Protestant Society.\* The latter Society had hitherto stood aloof, and been regarded by the Deputies and their Chairman with little cordiality; but the result of the present overture was, 'the union of the two bodies,' as far as regarded the application to Parliament, 'on terms satisfactory to both parties.' 'Hereafter,' it was agreed, 'the Protestant Society will act in this matter only through the United Committee, to which it has sent six deputies.' Mr. Wilks, the Secretary, had been chosen one of the Committee of Deputies, which doubtless facilitated this pacific accommodation.

Such was the origin of the United Committee, in the composition of which the Unitarians, who formed scarcely a fiftieth part of the metropolitan Dissenters represented by it, contrived to have fourteen members out of forty-nine, or two-sevenths, including the chairman. No inconvenience resulted from this at the time; and it is due to the Unitarian gentlemen on the Committee, to award them the praise of having taken the lead in activity and intelligence, conducting themselves at the same time with perfect urbanity. But the prominence which they now assumed, was certainly adapted to produce a false impression with regard to the religious sentiments of the bulk of the Dissenting body. It was

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\* The Resolutions were communicated also to the Society of Friends, the Wesleyan Conference, and the Presbytery of the Scotch Church; but those bodies declined to co-operate.

the first time that Unitarians avowedly, and *under that name*, had been received into union with the evangelical Dissenters, although they had been associated with them as *soi-disant* Presbyterians; and there was certainly no fair reason that *ten* metropolitan congregations, most of them very inconsiderable, should claim to be represented by *five* of the Committee of Deputies, including the chairman, *six* deputies from the Unitarian Association, and *three* ministers of the General Body of the Three Denominations; while between a hundred and fifty and two hundred congregations were represented by only thirty-five ministers and laymen. Taking the Protestant Dissenters of the Three Denominations throughout the country, the Unitarian congregations are, to those of the Independents, Baptists, and Scotch Presbyterians, as one to eighteen; and the population they respectively represent is about 50,000 to 2,500,000. It is not denied that the Unitarians may claim, on the score of property and secular influence, a much larger share of political consideration than attaches to them numerically. Standing alone, they are entitled to assert those claims, and to exert their social influence without question. It is only when mixed up with other denominations in a representative body, that their assuming a fallacious appearance of numerical importance becomes an injustice, and operates prejudicially. Allowing them all the weight that belongs to a little compact sectarian aristocracy, still, subsequent experience has amply shown how very little they sympathize with the popular feelings and prevailing sentiments of the great body of Protestant Dissenters, and how utterly incompetent they are to represent either their religious or their political views. A Government, therefore, could not fail to be misled, which, in giving ear to the statements or wishes of a few wealthy religionists of the Unitarian persuasion, imagined that they were listening to the expression of the general sentiments of the Protestant Dissenters.

It is true, as we have already intimated, no inconvenience resulted at the time from the composition of the United Committee, formed as it was for the attainment of a specific object, as to the desirableness of which all parties were agreed, but in which the Unitarians felt more particularly interested. The prostitution of the sacred ordinance of the Lord's Supper consequent upon its being made 'a pick-lock to a place,' was resented by every pious Nonconformist as, to use the words of Bishop Hoadley, 'a high affront to God, and a foul blot upon any Christian church that encourages such a corruption.' But the comparatively small number of Dissenters who were actually debarred from offices or emoluments by the Test, or took shelter under the doubtful protection of the annual Indemnity Acts, were chiefly, it must be confessed, in later times, of the *quasi* Presbyterian body; owing not only to its comprising so large a number of wealthy Dissen-



ters, but to their taking a livelier interest in political affairs. The Test Act was therefore more especially obnoxious to individuals holding a creed which rendered compliance with it the vilest hypocrisy, while their pursuits made them feel it to be a direct barrier crossing the path to honour and advancement. The wonder is, that they should so long have been content with evading the law. They now put themselves at the head of the combined movement; and the well-timed and skilfully managed effort being powerfully supported by the Whig party in both Houses of Parliament, the object for which the Committee of Deputies had been appointed nearly a hundred years before, was at length accomplished, in a single session, by a *coup de main*. Among those who by their speeches or votes contributed to the success of the Bill for repealing the Test, the Committee deemed themselves called upon to tender their thanks, first and chiefly, to Lord John Russell, the mover, and to John Smith, Esq., the seconder of the measure; next, to Viscounts Althorp and Milton, Lord Nugent, Mr. Brougham, and Sir James Mackintosh; also, to Mr. Wilbraham, Mr. Fergusson, the Rt. Hon. C. W. W. Wynn, Mr. Robt. Palmer, Sir T. D. Acland, Mr. Calcraft, Mr. Marshall, Dr. Phillimore, Viscount Sandon, and Mr. Spring Rice, in the Commons; in the Lords, first to Lord Holland, who undertook the conducting of the measure through that House, and next, to the Marquess of Lansdowne and Earls Grey, Harrowby, Rosslyn, and Carnarvon. These names will show by what powerful friends the Protestant Dissenters on this occasion found themselves supported in their application. The Resolution pledging the Commons to go into consideration of the subject, was moved by Lord John Russell, (Feb. 27, 1828,) precisely in the same terms as were adopted by Mr. Fox in his unsuccessful motion of March 2, 1790. It was carried by a majority of 43, the Ayes being 236, the Noes 193. On the 9th of May, the Bill, having passed both Houses, received the Royal Assent. The expenses incurred by the United Committee in conducting the application to Parliament, and in taking the steps requisite to ensure success, amounted to £2,812; towards which the Protestant Society contributed £1,000, the remainder being defrayed out of the funds of the Committee of Deputies. Having attained the object for which they were appointed, the United Committee, on the 15th of December, was formally dissolved.\*

During the next four years, the metropolitan Dissenters, though not uninterested or inactive spectators of the great political changes which were going forward, took no steps to obtain any

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\* We take these details from 'The Test-Act Reporter,' published by the United Committee. 8vo., 1829.

further redress of their grievances. The accession of Earl Grey to power, and the formation of a Reform cabinet in 1830, following close upon the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill and the abolition of the Sacramental Test, were naturally viewed by the Tory party as the result, in some degree, of those measures, indicating the increasing power of the Dissenters, and auguring for their advantage more than for that of the hierarchy. The Dissenters were indeed every where found zealously supporting ministers and the cause of Reform; while the clergy and the 'friends of the church' were almost universally taking part with the timid or interested opponents of any changes in the representation; as if Gatton and Old Sarum had been the very outworks of the Church Establishment. Indeed, Lord Wynford stated explicitly in the House of Peers, as a reason for his opposing the Reform Bill, that, if passed, it would give increased power to the Dissenters and the Abolitionists, and, by paving the way for the abolition of slavery, entail the ruin of our colonies. Thus, the alarms of the Tory party in reference to the strength and designs of the Dissenters, whether real or affected, had the effect of magnifying their political importance. The passing of the Reform Bill itself was adduced as a proof of this, the professed object of that measure being to extend the basis of representation upon principles which should throw more weight into the hands of the middle classes, among whom the Dissenters are chiefly found. With still more reason the abolition of Slavery in 1833, was regarded as the result of the moral force exerted by the sectarian denominations: the majority of the clergy had either stood aloof or opposed the popular demonstration which led to the carrying of that great measure, whereas the cause of negro emancipation was identified with the Dissenting missions in the West Indies. On the other hand, it was very soon perceived by both reformers and anti-reformers, that the composition of the House of Commons had undergone small change from the modification of the representative system;—that the new constituencies had returned much the same description of members as the old ones;—that the classes in this country hitherto unrepresented had made no vigorous or well concerted effort to turn to good account the opportunity offered to them;—that the Reform Act, which, it was predicted, would prostrate the Legislature at the feet of the democracy, and convert the parliament into an assembly of pledged and fettered delegates,—had produced a house obsequious to the Minister, and most conformable to his *juste-milieu* policy;—and finally, that whatever aid the Dissenters might afford out of doors to a party in the State espousing their principles, they could show no front in parliament, and might be safely left out of consideration in managing the House. When, therefore, the Tory journals began to exult in the escape of the Church from the danger which



was supposed to threaten it, and to represent those who were arrayed against it as a mere fraction of the wealth and importance of the State, the Whig ministers were not indisposed to embrace the same conclusion, as relieving them from the necessity of risking any thing for the sake of their former allies. Accordingly, the very Premier who had admonished the Prelates to set their house in order, soon gave the Dissenters to understand that they had little to expect, in the shape of enlightened and liberal concessions, at his hands. The Irish vestry cess was abolished as an unjust impost, because the Roman Catholics of Ireland counted by millions; but the same ministers who had discoursed eloquently in favour of that concession, forgot or retracted their own arguments, when, upon precisely the same grounds, the Protestant Dissenters claimed the abolition of the English church-rate, because it was deemed safe to despise them. O'Connell's power was seen, and heard, and felt, in the House and out of it: but who was the O'Connell of the Protestant Dissenters?

Such conduct upon the part of the somewhat mixed Cabinet, in their peculiar position, was natural, if not very high-minded; and it was the more excusable inasmuch as all their acquaintance with the Dissenters was through the medium of the Unitarians, who, as we have seen, had been allowed to take the lead in all the public affairs of the general body. The Chairman of the Deputies was a Unitarian; the Secretary to the General Body of the Three Denominations in the metropolis, was a Unitarian; the most active individuals in the proceedings which led to the repeal of the Test Act, were Unitarians; the only Protestant Dissenters known at the Clubs, or to be met with at Holland House, were Unitarians; and finally, all the Dissenting members of parliament but one or two, were of Arian or Socinian sentiments.\* Was it not then a reasonable inference, that all the wealth and *respectability* of the Dissenters of England must be in the hands of this little body of religionists? Is it surprising that their representations alone should have been listened to? And since *they* were satisfied, or unwilling to hurry or incommode the Government, why should Ministers have gone a step out of the way to meet the demands of more noisy agitators? Such was the light in which the application of the Dissenters for a redress of their grievances was viewed. 'We have been sorry,' said a ministerial organ (the *Globe*), in October, 1833, 'to perceive at some late meetings of Dissenters, a disposition to question the desire of His Majesty's Government to afford to their body every assist-

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\* In the first reformed parliament, there were said to be about thirty 'Socinians or Arians;' but of these many would class as churchmen. Mr. Wilks, M.P. for Boston, was the only one recognised as belonging to the Three Denominations; Mr. Baines was not then in parliament.



‘ance in their power, consistent with the security of the established institutions of their country.’ A convenient phrase, which, if it had any definite meaning, intimated that the demands or expectations of the Dissenters were incompatible with the security of those institutions.

Our readers have seen that the United Committee appointed to conduct the application to Parliament for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, dissolved itself in 1829, on the attainment of that object. In March, 1833, however, a second United Committee was appointed,\* ‘to consider of the grievances under which Dissenters now labour, with a view to their redress.’ In their Resolutions of May 11, 1833, this Committee declare, that, in their opinion, ‘the present state of public feeling, and the posture of public affairs, are such as to afford to the Protestant Dissenters of England and Wales, an opportunity peculiarly favourable for obtaining the effectual redress of their practical grievances;’ and six are specified as more particularly calling for removal; viz. 1. Compulsory conformity to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Book of Common Prayer for the celebration of Matrimony; 2. Liability to the exaction of Church-rates; 3. Alleged Liability of places of Worship to Poor-rates; 4. Want of a Legal Registration of the Births and Deaths of Dissenters; 5. Denial to Dissenters of the right of Burial by their own Ministers in the parochial church-yards; 6. Virtual exclusion from the benefits of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the want of a charter to the London University. Of these, the first three were declared to be the most pressing and important; and a Memorial, embodying these Resolutions, and expressing the hopes cherished and the expectations entertained by Dissenters generally, was presented to Government. On the 25th of that month, a deputation waited upon the Premier, and were received with his Lordship’s stately courtesy, but obtained little encouragement to hope that His Majesty’s Ministers would find themselves at liberty to originate any specific measures for the relief of their grievances during that session. The utmost that was held out, was, that no *opposition* from Government would be made to the Bill brought in by Mr. Wilks, exempting all places of worship from parochial rates! What said the United Committee? They bowed and acquiesced, and issued a Circular, complimenting the ‘liberal and enlightened statesman’ who had so courteously dismissed them, and announcing their intention to abstain from urging any general effort in that session; but the

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\* Composed of the Committee of Deputies, 12 Delegates from the Body of Ministers, 3 from the United Secession Presbytery, and 3 from the Protestant Society.

most vigorous efforts for obtaining the objects for which they were appointed, were to be made at the earliest possible period of next session. Mr. Wilks's Bill, exempting chapels from rates, to which they were not clearly liable, and never ought to have been deemed so, was the only boon to the Dissenters extorted from the first session of the Reformed House of Commons!

Moderate and reasonable, however, as were the demands of the Protestant Dissenters, and tame or prudent as was deemed the conduct of the metropolitan Committee, enough had been done, or at least talked of, to excite the jealous alarms of the partizans of the Established Church. The 'Standard' Newspaper led the way in representing the demands of the Memorialists as a declaration of 'open war against the Church;' and called upon the clergy to 'prepare themselves, and plunge promptly into the struggle, 'worldly as it is, and worldly as are the motives of those who provoke it.' 'The Case of the Dissenters,' a Letter addressed to the Lord Chancellor, (published in December, 1833,) distinguished alike by its forcible and eloquent pleadings, and its temperate and even conciliatory language, had the effect of exasperating to a still higher degree the bigotry of their enemies. Up to that time, although there had been much talk about Church Reform, this had taken place, as the writer of that Letter remarked, 'without any movement on the part of the Dissenters; for hitherto, with the exception of Scotland, they had been both silent and still. They may have memorialized the Ministers on some particular evil; but they have declined to publish even such memorial to the world. Many may blame them for not having spoken earlier; none can blame them for speaking now. It is a crisis they have not made: it is a crisis they must not neglect.' The writer was mistaken, if he really anticipated what his words express. They were blamed both by friends and by foes; and it is singular enough, that those who most vehemently blamed them were the Evangelical clergy and the Unitarians.

In January, 1834, the United Committee issued an Address so temperate that it was characterized by 'The Standard' as exhibiting 'the moderation of an engineer who contents himself at the commencement of a siege with making trenches and throwing up defences, without discharging a gun.\*' It was followed up by a deputation to Ministers, to explain and support the representations it contained. The only reply they obtained was

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\* The Times, after adverting to the practical grievances of the Dissenters, which were admitted to demand redress, remarked that the whole nation had their grievances in relation to the Church of England, which must also be removed; namely, 'the oppressive character of that revenue by which the church has hitherto been supported,' and the abuses in its temporal administration.

to the effect, that their claims were under the consideration of the Cabinet. What this meant, was soon indicated by the notorious Speech from the Throne with which the second session of the Reformed Parliament opened;—a speech which, while it pointedly denounced the great Irish Agitator all but by name, in an angry style ill comporting with the dignity of the Crown, took no notice of the claims of the English Dissenters, and announced the intended policy of the Session to be that of conciliation towards the people's enemies. 'Earl Grey,' the Standard sarcastically remarked, 'means to stand by his Church, as, seven years ago, he threatened to stand by his order.\*' The omission in the Speech was tacitly acknowledged, and partially repaired, by an intimation in the Royal Answer to the Address, in which His Majesty was pleased to say, he should feel it his duty to co-operate with Parliament 'in any measure that might be required for the relief of grievances that may affect *any* portion of his subjects.' With a view to appear to do something, Lord John Russell brought in a Dissenters' Marriage Bill,—remarkable, according to the comments of the Tory journals, for its '*moderation* when contrasted with the extravagant demands of the Dissenters;' while a Liberal journal described it as 'an experiment upon the forbearance of the great body for whose relief it was avowedly intended.' The United Committee lost no time in stating their decided objections against the measure, which was avowedly only a temporary expedient, the existing system of registration rendering it impossible to frame a measure based upon sound principles. There is reason to believe, however, that the Bill was well intended, and that Ministers supposed that it would be acceptable to the Dissenters. The Unitarians had long been endeavouring to obtain a Marriage Act to relieve them from compliance with the forms of the Church of England; and Bills had passed the Commons, which were deemed satisfactory, although they went no further than the one in question. It is known, too, that some of their leading men were consulted in the framing of the measure; and the Government was, no doubt, led to believe that this grievance was regarded as the most pressing by 'the *respectable* Dissenters.' Nor were the rulers of the church indisposed to relieve the Unitarians in this matter. It could not but be irksome and offensive to the clergy themselves, to be compelled to perform the service, when their ministrations were claimed, under protest, by persons openly avowing their disbelief in the doctrine of the Trinity. And this point would quite as readily have been

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\* This referred to a speech in which Earl Grey announced his resolution to take his stand in defence of the Establishment, and to offer to all attempts to divorce the Church from the State 'the most determined, the most unflinching resistance.'



conceded by a Tory Administration. The Bill, as our readers are aware, was ultimately dropped. Nothing more was done, or scarcely talked of, till the result of the Dudley election showed that Ministers were losing ground; the defeat of Sir John Campbell being attributed chiefly to the resentment of his Dissenting constituents. Earl Grey then condescended, in reply to a question purposely put by Lord Durham, (March 3,) to beg the noble Lord not to imagine that Lord John Russell's Bill was all that was intended to be done for the Dissenters, for Government were '*not without hope* of producing considerable relief with 'respect to the other subjects of which the Dissenters complained.' A few days after this declaration, the brother of the Lord Chancellor gave notice of his intention to bring in a Bill for the General Registration of Births, Marriages, and Deaths; but nothing was done in the business, as he eventually gave up the Bill to Ministers. On the 18th of March, Mr. Divett brought forward his motion for the Abolition of Church-rates; it was opposed by Lord Althorp, who promised to originate a measure satisfactory to all parties. When the government plan was produced, and it was seen to be little more than a transmutation of the rate into a land-tax, the dissatisfaction of the Dissenters in different parts of the country could no longer be restrained from breaking out into loud and angry complaints. Public meetings were held at Glasgow, Edinburgh, Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham, Birmingham, Bristol, and other principal towns, at which Resolutions were passed, expressive of strong disappointment and indignant regret at the conduct of Ministers; and the language of some of the Resolutions adopted and embodied in petitions and memorials, now went so far as to demand an entire separation of Church and State. This ill understood phrase, to which it was possible to attach widely different meanings, gave umbrage and alarm to both Whig and Tories, and served still further to widen the breach between Government and the Dissenters. \*

In the mean time, the United Committee, who had been urged to convene a general meeting of Deputies from town and country in the metropolis, after deferring compliance as long as resistance to the movement would avail, found themselves compelled to adopt that step with not the best possible grace; and the meeting was summoned for the 8th of May. A numerous body of minis-

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\* The memorial from Glasgow received 50,000 signatures in nine days. To the deputation who waited upon the Premier with it, his Lordship expressed great surprise at its tone and character, avowing his determination to uphold the Established Church, and adding, that when he saw Dissenters taking up such ground, he was almost led to feel as if he should abandon all efforts to relieve them in despair.

ters and gentlemen deputed from the principal towns and country districts, assembled in London on this occasion; and, after mutual explanations between the metropolitan Committee and the country Deputies, some spirited Resolutions were agreed upon. A joint deputation was appointed to wait upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to protest against the Church-rate Commutation Bill, and to urge the injustice of imposing a permanent tax, over which the parishioners could have no control, for upholding the parochial edifices. His Lordship received the Deputation with his usual urbanity, but did not intimate any intention of altering his measure. He declared that he never introduced any measure into the House with more confidence than he did in the present case, as it respected Dissenters, and he was sorry to find he had been mistaken. That Lord Althorp was misled by his Unitarian friends, is more than probable, as they were favorable to the measure; and the fatal policy of the Cabinet, as regards the Dissenters, seems to have been entirely governed by this sinister influence. Thus, upon the only two points in which the Unitarians felt interested, the Marriage grievance and exclusion from the Universities, Ministers showed a disposition even to risk something by their concessions. Of all the grievances complained of by the Dissenters, the last was probably that in which the great body felt least interested, and the Unitarians the most so. It was also the claim which excited the greatest alarm to their opponents, and which it was most dangerous to urge. A Bill for their admission to the Universities was, however, brought into the House of Commons, and obtained the support, on the second reading, of 321 members out of 468. It passed the Commons, but was of course quashed by the Lords. In the interim, the Grey Cabinet, which had split upon the Irish Church question, after attempting to brave the storms of party for about six weeks, was dissolved by the resignation of Earl Grey; and Lord Melbourne was entrusted with the task of re-constructing it. In November, Lord Althorp became Earl Spencer, and the King took the opportunity of abruptly dismissing his ministers. The royal indiscretion closed the chapter of political blunders.

We may be supposed to be not absolutely unprejudiced or impartial judges in the matter, but we cannot see that the Dissenters were to be blamed for the part which they had acted, to which was ascribed by certain Whig partizans the precipitation of the fall of the ministry. The moderation of their demands was admitted. The General Registration Act, and the Marriages Act have since removed two of the five grievances complained of. The grant of a charter to the London University has partially satisfied a third ground of complaint. And as to the abolition of Church-rates, whatever difficulty there may now be found in carrying a satisfactory measure, it was not at first deemed so unreasonable a de-



mand even by dignitaries of the Establishment. Thus, Dr. Burton, the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, frankly admitted, that he was disposed to think the demand was just. 'If,' said the learned Canon, 'a person is not a member of the Church of England, I can hardly think it right to make him pay for the repair of the fabric, or for any of the appendages of a worship in which he takes no part. . . . *At all events, the payment of Church-rates by Dissenters ought to be abolished.* If they feel the payment to be a grievance, it is one.' And with regard to Lord Althorp's plan, afterwards so readily adopted by a Tory premier, the Rev. Dr. D'Oyly, Rector of Lambeth, remarked, with equal frankness, that it appeared to him 'unsatisfactory to the public at large. *It would give no relief to Dissenters*; it would entail, on the whole, a greater burthen than has been entailed by parochial taxation; and, instead of being a measure of peace, would lead to violent discussion as often as attention should be called to this item in the public estimates.' Could the Dissenters have been more completely vindicated? We have not the smallest doubt that the total abolition of Church-rates could have been accomplished with the greatest ease, had it been taken up in earnest by Ministers either in 1833 or early in 1834, before the Church had taken the alarm at the danger which was supposed to threaten the Universities. The stirring of the latter question at that time we have always deemed imprudent; yet, had ministers, had Lord Brougham procured the charter for the London University, little would have been heard of the illiberal exclusion of Dissenters from Oxford and Cambridge. But then, it is said, it was the cry of separation between Church and State, that did all the mischief. Our reply is, in the first place, that the enunciation of this broad principle was not adopted by the English Dissenters, till they were in a manner driven to it by the opposition raised against their just claims, and they found themselves contemptuously trifled with by a Whig ministry. And even then, it was avowed as a principle, rather than asserted as a demand. Secondly, as regards the relieving of the prelates from their political functions as peers of parliament, and other changes supposed to be involved in the separation of Church and State, Lord Henley, and other advocates of Church Reform, had gone almost as far as any Dissenters. Indeed, Dr. Burton acknowledges, he had met with high-churchmen who 'denounced the present connexion between Church and State as an unholy union, and who felt it a solemn duty to pray for the separation.' On the other hand, it was forcibly urged by Mr. Stanley, one of the Members for Cheshire (March 11), that 'the Dissenters would be right in attributing the evils under which they laboured to the existence of a dominant church, if they saw that the noble Lord (Lord

‘John Russell) who had been their constant supporter through ‘the whole of his life, was disposed to withdraw his measure of ‘relief,’ (alluding to the first Marriage Bill,) ‘in deference to the ‘Church of England. If they saw their just demands thus resisted by the Church, and their relief rendered incompatible with ‘the existence of the connexion between Church and State, they ‘would be right, he repeated, in attributing their grievances to ‘this connexion, and in calling upon the House to put an end to it, ‘as incompatible with the liberties of their country.’ Instead, then, of affecting to take offence and alarm at such language, and ostentatiously proffering his aid to the Church in resisting every effort to separate the Church from the State,—after having spent his political life in advocating Catholic Emancipation,—it became Earl Grey, both as a statesman and as a professed friend to Religious Liberty, first, to show himself in earnest in redressing the admitted grievances of the Dissenters; and then, if he found them unreasonable, he might have refused with a better grace to ‘lend ‘himself to their theories.’ Instead of this, by a temporizing, indecisive, evasive, and haughty conduct towards the Dissenters, the Cabinet of Earl Grey lost the confidence of its friends without propitiating its enemies; and thus prepared the way for its own overthrow.

The metropolitan Dissenters had been the last to express dissatisfaction or distrust with the conduct of His Majesty’s Ministers. The United Committee had danced attendance upon this and that noble person with exemplary patience; but the country gave them little credit for the modest secrecy with which they conducted their busy, but fruitless proceedings. Had the time and efforts spent in courting Ministers been employed in engaging the parliamentary support of their claims, the result would have been, no doubt, very different. The suspicion that their interests were ill-looked to or betrayed by the London Deputies, unquestionably contributed to produce much of that excitement and agitation which were exhibited in distant parts of the kingdom. On former occasions, the co-operation of the country Dissenters had been invited: it had now been declined till mutual confidence was lost, and active concert was rendered hopeless. Nor was the want of energy on the part of the metropolitan Committee compensated by any display of wisdom on that of their more zealous country brethren who attended the general meeting. Instead of organizing a standing committee of delegates, as in 1790—1794, and taking effective measures to secure the vigilant prosecution of their claims, the Conference *resolved upon Resolutions*, and there the matter ended. That part of the Resolutions which deprecated the alliance of Church and State was warmly resented by some leading Unitarians favourable to the

principle of Establishments: \* they were, indeed, already alienated and incensed by the litigation of Lady Hewley's Charities; and from that time they ceased to have any prominent share in the proceedings of the metropolitan body.

On the occasion of the ministerial crisis of November, and during the provisional administration of the Duke of Wellington, the Dissenters were roused to some vigorous efforts. As far as the issuing of spirited Resolutions went, the United Committee acted with a promptitude and decision befitting the occasion; but the chief merit of the well-organized exertions which had so important an influence upon the subsequent elections, is due to the 'Dissenters' Parliamentary Committee,' formed on the spur of the exigency, by whom a correspondence was opened with local Committees throughout the country. Dissatisfied as the Dissenters had reason to be with the Whigs, they did not hesitate for a moment to declare themselves the determined opponents of the Tory restoration; and they united heartily with the Liberal party in returning candidates of popular principles. Again, the friends of Reform and Religious Liberty were united; and the consequence of their union was their triumph. The new parliament was found unmanageable by the Tory Premier. In April, Sir Robert Peel resigned office; and Lord Melbourne was re-instated at the head of a Liberal administration. The interruption of the public business occasioned by these changes, rendered the session of 1835 a very stormy, but unproductive one. Its sole public trophy was the Corporation Reform Bill, which, though mutilated by the Lords, was the greatest advance yet made towards a practical recognition of the principle of Religious Equality. This measure may be said to have saved the Melbourne Administration, which was believed to be tottering when, at the very close of the year, the results of the elections of Town Councils under the new Act, came upon the Tories like a thunder-clap, and destroyed all hope of displacing the Liberal cabinet. The number of Protestant Dissenters elected as town councillors and aldermen, proved how unfairly they had been treated under the old system. In some cases, the mayor chosen under the new Act was a Dissenter. Up to the passing of this Act, the repeal of the Corporation Act and Sacramental Test, was only a nominal and formal concession. The Municipal Reform Act first restored Nonconformists to the civil equality from which they had been so unjustly excluded by the penal statutes. Yet, it is remarkable, that this

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\* An attack upon the United Committee, by one of the Unitarian minority, appeared in the Times of January 21, 1834, in which the writer sneered at the newly kindled activity of the Dissenters, arising out of the popular contests about church-rates, and claimed the merit of not wishing to light up a war of agitation against the existing Administration!



benefit seemed to be conferred upon them indirectly, and almost without solicitation. It had formed no topic of petition or complaint on the part of the United Committee or any other public body. The result, though affording such cause for gratulation, attracted comparatively little notice; and what is, perhaps, still more remarkable, the permanent *political* effect of the reform has been less decisive than was anticipated by both the promoters and the opponents of the measure.

The Session of 1836 opened auspiciously. The Speech from the Throne (a very different one from any of former years) contained an explicit and gracious reference to the claims of His Majesty's Dissenting subjects. 'The principles of toleration by which I have been invariably guided, must render me desirous of removing any cause of offence or trouble to the consciences of any portion of my subjects; and I am therefore anxious that you should consider whether measures may not be framed, which, while they remedy any grievances which affect those who dissent from the Established Church, will also be of general advantage to the whole body of the community.' In pursuance of this intimation, on Feb. 12th, Lord John Russell brought forward the great measure of a General Civil Registration of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, and also, a Bill for the amendment of the laws regulating the Marriages of Dissenters. The comprehensive and statesman-like character of these measures reflected the highest honour upon the Cabinet; and had they been followed up in the same spirit of enlightened liberality, Ministers would have secured the gratitude and confidence of the nation. But untoward delays were suffered to impede the progress of these measures; and at the same time, the continued denial of the promised charter to the Metropolitan University, and the sinister hints dropped by Lord John Russell with regard to the point upon which the Dissenters were the most sensitive and anxious, (the abolition of Church-Rates,) converted the general satisfaction which had been produced by the ministerial *programme*, into distrust and disappointment. On the one hand, justice was scarcely done to Ministers, or proper allowance made for the difficulties with which they were beset; yet, on the other hand, it was not wise to betray at once a fear of the Church and a seeming contempt for the Dissenters, at the very time that they were rendering the latter a service the importance of which was not, and is not yet, adequately appreciated, and inflicting upon the Establishment a sore blow and discouragement never to be forgiven. In fact, the self-contradictory policy of the Melbourne Cabinet, which robbed them of their just popularity, forms a political paradox.

Some light is thrown upon it, perhaps, by the consideration of the opposite influences secretly at work, to warp them from their straight course; the bishops on one side, and the Unitarians on

the other. Circumstances already alluded to had prepared the way for the open rupture which at length took place between the *soi-disant* English Presbyterians and the other denominations. In March, 1836, the Unitarian members of the Presbyterian Board, irritated at what they were pleased to deem the intolerance shown to them by the ministers of the 'Three Denominations, in insisting upon electing an orthodox Secretary, seceded in a body; and the Court Circular informed the public, that a deputation from the Presbyterian ministers in and about London, consisting of the Rev. Dr. T. Rees, Robert Aspland, and Thomas Madge, had waited on Viscount Melbourne and Lord John Russell, on occasion of their withdrawal from the *two* other bodies. The orthodox Presbyterians, however, had not withdrawn; and they maintained their claim to all privileges belonging to them 'as being and constituting the Presbyterian body.' A few days afterwards, therefore, a deputation from the ministers of the 'Three Denominations waited upon Lord John Russell, and presented a memorial explanatory of the facts connected with the secession of the Unitarians.\* At the same time that their ministers withdrew, certain Presbyterian Deputies met and passed Resolutions, declaring that they had witnessed 'a continued and 'obvious disposition on the part of many members of other denominations to act upon exclusive distinctions, subversive of the 'equality and independence of such portions of the aggregate 'Dissenting societies as do not coincide with the doctrinal creed 'of the majority, and hostile to the principles on which they have 'combined their efforts and contributions;' upon which ground they withdrew from the Deputation.† As applied to the Committee of Deputies, there was neither fairness nor truth in the reason assigned; and in accepting and recording the withdrawal of these congregations at their half-yearly meeting (May 25), the Deputies protested against the allegations of the Resolutionists as unjust and injurious. They had, as a body, taken no part in those proceedings which had incensed and alarmed the Unitarians by calling in question their legal title to Presbyterian endowments. At the same time, the effect of those proceedings was such as forbade the idea of any cordial co-operation between the Unitarian Deputies and the representatives of the 'Three Denominations. The former had no alternative, therefore, but either to maintain a nominal and hollow union, exposing them to the mortification of being constantly placed in a minority on any

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\* Of 175 ministers comprising the General Body, the Unitarians were but 23, of whom 14 only were pastors of congregations, most of them small.

† The eight congregations who withdrew their deputies, were those assembling at Brentford, Carter Lane, Essex Street, Hackney, Hampstead, Jewin Street, Newington Green, and Stamford Street.

point of difference, or to withdraw themselves altogether. That they should have endeavoured to signalize their formal secession by a little parade; that they should have assumed to themselves the style and dignity of a Third Denomination, although a mere fragment and relic of the Presbyterian body; that they should have vented their spleen and pique in pompous and angry Resolutions; that they should have sought to prejudice their former colleagues with the Government; and that they should have sought to cripple the operations of the Deputies by disputing their right to make use of the funds in trust;—all this was so naturally to be expected, that it ought to have been taken as a matter of course.

Trivial, however, as the circumstance was in itself, it had an effect which has scarcely been appreciated. Few in numbers, but active, accustomed to public business, aspiring, and wealthy, the Unitarians had formed the chief link between the Government, as well as the Legislature, and the Dissenters; for more than half a century, they had been allowed to be the chief agents in transacting the public business of the general body; they had the ear of Ministers; they were the only class of Dissenters known to the political coteries or clubs; and they could also control, as has been already intimated, the funds at the disposal of the Deputies. Although the value of their co-operation had long been equivocal, their secession, therefore, was mischievous, and inflicted a paralysis upon the enfeebled organization which could ill afford to part with any portion of its vitality. The marvellous indifference of the bulk of the Dissenters to their public interests, except under the pressure of some crying grievance, together with the distaste fostered by their religious and domestic habits for the pursuits and occupations of political life, had led them to leave every thing connected with parliamentary matters to the management of Unitarian representatives; and they were now, as a body, placed in much the same predicament as a landed proprietor, ignorant of business, who, having turned off his steward, has no one to look after his estates. The Dissenters, though not deficient in head or heart, have not yet found their hands.

The Registration and Marriages Bills, after being before the House of Commons for four months, at length reached their final stage on the 28th of June, and were sent up to the Lords, who returned them with amendments, which were adopted Aug. 11th. Thus, these two great measures, notwithstanding the angry opposition of the high-church party, passed into law. That they are of immense value as concessions to the great principle of Civil Equality, as well as an important improvement upon the bungling system of ecclesiastical registration, must be admitted. They form an era in our legislation; and every year will develope more and more the beneficial results of this separation of the Church from the State in the most interesting transactions of social



life. Yet, by a singular fatality attending almost all the acts of the Whig Ministers, the merit and popularity of these liberal measures were greatly obscured and marred by the unsatisfactory character of some of the details. The invidious and almost opprobrious difference made by the clause requiring the publication of marriages by license before the Poor Law Guardians, between parties availing themselves of the civil license, and those who are married by the ordinary's license without any such publication of notice,—has operated very extensively to prevent Dissenters from accepting of the provisions of the Act. No small degree of prejudice also was excited against it by the connexion of the machinery of Registration with the Poor Law system. The Tory journals did not fail to make this feature of the Act a topic of abundant ridicule and ribaldry, with a view to deter persons from so *ungenteel* a proceeding. Owing to these circumstances, and to the vexatious conduct of the new officials and Boards of Guardians in some localities, the Government saw themselves unfairly deprived of the cordial and grateful approbation due to the authors of these admirable measures of redress and reform, which, whatever be their defects, are impressed with the broad characters of an enlightened and liberal policy.

The Dissenters might well have been satisfied with these concessions as the fruits of the protracted session; and so indeed they would have been, had not the annual nuisance of the Church-rate, by stirring up discord and litigation in almost every parish, rendered the removal of this grievance a matter of urgent necessity. Ministers, however, not being prepared to abandon Lord Althorp's crotchet of commutation, the subject was allowed, by a sort of tacit agreement, to remain in abeyance; till, unfortunately, Lord John Russell, yielding to sinister counsel, or smitten with a sudden impulse of ecclesiastical zeal, brought forward, in July, his Bills for carrying into effect the recommendations of the Church Commissioners, by which any satisfactory arrangement of the Church-rate question would have been, if not absolutely precluded, rendered much more embarrassing. And it was not without surprise and alarm that those who were watching the proceedings of Parliament perceived a disposition on the part of the noble Lord to hurry these Bills through the House. Pending the settlement of the Church-rate, this conduct was regarded as scarcely compatible with good faith; and on the 19th of July, the honourable member for Middlesex, at the request of the United Committee, intimated that the measures would meet with a determined opposition upon the part of the representatives of liberal constituencies. His Lordship complained of being taken by surprise by this intimation, when he was in fact taking by surprise the Dissenters and the country. Eventually, he agreed to

postpone the more objectionable of the two Bills; but, as he gave no intimation of any intention to make the abolition of church-rates a part of the proposed arrangement, the collision with Ministers which the United Committee had been anxious to avert, seemed inevitable. So altered indeed was the temper of the House of Commons, whether owing to pusillanimity or to aristocratic nonchalance, that Mr. Divett himself, who had only two years before moved a Resolution with a view to the abolition of church-rates, and voted against Lord Althorp's Bill, now declined to meddle with the question, assigning as his reason, that he should hardly feel sure of having a seconder. On the part of the supporters of Government in the House, the fear of embarrassing or incommoding Ministers appeared to predominate over every other consideration.

It had now become evident that nothing was to be gained from either Ministers or Parliament in this matter by trusting to their justice or consistency; consequently, it only remained for the people to take in hand their own cause against the Church, and to show themselves in earnest in refusing to submit to this obnoxious impost. Accordingly, in September, 1836, a Provisional Committee of gentlemen in London, met and agreed upon a Resolution declaring it to be expedient to form an Association, having for its sole and specific object, 'to take all constitutional means for effecting the abolition of church-rates without commutation, upon the principle that every religious denomination is morally bound to support the expense of its own religious worship.' An Address, explanatory of the object and principles of the Association, was very widely circulated; and on the 19th of October, the Church-rate Abolition Society was regularly formed, and the permanent Committee appointed, at a public meeting held at the City of London Tavern. The next step was, to convene a meeting in the metropolis of gentlemen from all parts of the country, deputed by congregations and associated bodies, to represent and express the sentiments of the opponents of church-rates in their several localities. The circular invitation was responded to by the nomination of 419 delegates, who assembled on the 1st of February, 1837, and, after adopting Resolutions in harmony with those passed at the first public meeting, waited in a body upon the Premier, to express their hope that the redress of this grievance would be taken up by ministers early in the ensuing session. Previously to this meeting of Delegates, a deputation from the United Committee waited upon Lord John Russell, 'to request an explanation of the measure intended to be proposed relative to church-rates;' and the Deputation received an assurance that Government had prepared a plan for their abolition, the precise nature of which, however, was not dis-

closed. That the movement originated, or rather organized, by the Church-rate Abolition Society, \* had induced Ministers seriously to attempt the settlement of the question, we can scarcely be wrong in assuming. In the first week of March, the ministerial plan was brought forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the shape of a Resolution: 'That, for the repair and maintenance of parochial churches and chapels in England and Wales, and the due celebration of divine worship therein, a permanent and adequate provision be made out of an increased value given to church lands by the introduction of a new system of management, and by the application of the proceeds of pew rents; the collection of church-rates ceasing altogether from a day to be determined by law.' This Resolution, which took the supporters of Government and their opponents equally by surprise, excited some alarm among those who held property under church leases; and it was adopted by a majority of only twenty-three. On the second reading, the majority was reduced to five. As the assailants of the Resolution had disputed the feasibility of obtaining a fund from the increased produce of church lands, Ministers consented to postpone the measure till a Select Committee had inquired into and reported upon the present state of the ecclesiastical property which would be affected by it. Petitions, praying for the abolition of church-rates, had in the meantime been poured into the House of Commons, to the unexampled number of 2,328, bearing 674,719 signatures, including many from Town Councils in their corporate capacity. Counter petitions also, emanating from a London Committee, and zealously promoted by the clergy, were sent up from an imposing number of parishes; but the total number of signatures, notwithstanding the unworthy means employed in many instances to procure them, fell short of half the number attached to the petitions for the abolition. Still, they seem to have produced some faltering of purpose on the part of an irresolute Cabinet; and the demise of the Crown prevented even the appointment of the Parliamentary Committee during that session.

We have now brought down our rapid sketch to the general election which ensued upon the accession of her present Majesty in the autumn of 1837. An Address to the Protestant Dissenters of England and Wales, adapted to the occasion, was put forth by

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\* In the Report of the Committee of Deputies, 1837, it is correctly stated, that some of the most active members of the United Committee were among the promoters of the assembly of Delegates; and that the Committee of Deputies cheerfully subscribed to the funds of the Church-rate Abolition Society. But, if we are not mistaken, the formation of that Society was in the first instance regarded with any thing but cordial approbation by the Deputies.



the United Committee, and extensively circulated; but, beyond this, no step was taken by the Committee with a view either to direct the energies, or to secure the interests of Dissenters in the important contest. Never had there been an election which demanded more strenuous and well-organized exertions on the part of the Dissenters to maintain their vantage-ground against their powerful and now irritated politico-ecclesiastical opponents; for, on no former occasion had they been exposed to so direct a trial of their strength, with so little aid from the liberal portion of the aristocracy. It may seem a bold paradox, to assert, that the results of an election so unfavourable to the Liberal party, indicated the strength of the Dissenters, rather than their weakness; yet, when all the circumstances are taken into account, such will appear to be the fact. It was never imagined that, in the agricultural counties, the Dissenters were numerous and powerful enough to contend against the Tory squirarchy and the Church: all that they had aspired to accomplish, was to throw their weight into the scale of the Whig or Liberal party. But, at the last election, the Whigs, influenced too generally by a haughty jealousy or distrust of their former supporters, held back from any cordial or active co-operation with the Liberal portion of the constituencies, while the *soi-disant* friends of the Church strained every nerve to procure the return of the Conservative candidates. In many instances, the committee of the Liberal candidate was composed entirely of Dissenters. The church-rate agitation had made the clergy more furious and fanatical partisans than ever; and thus, the contest was almost as much ecclesiastical as political,—a trial of strength between the high-church party and their opponents within and without the pale of the Establishment. It must not be forgotten, moreover, that the whole strength of the Dissenters was not marshalled on the side of liberal principles. A large portion of the Wesleyan body has always exhibited a strong leaning to servile politics; and coaxed and flattered by the Church, their leaders were found, in many instances, zealous apostles of conservatism. Still, had there been any adequate preparation made for the contest by the Liberal party, had the Dissenters understood their position, and rallied all their scattered energies, had there been any organization of their political strength, any central force to propagate a moral impulse, or any directing council,—the results would have been very different.

The greatest disadvantage of all, perhaps, was the want of eligible candidates. Of little use is the reform in the machinery of election, if individuals cannot be found, able and willing to serve in parliament, who shall unite an attachment to the principles of religious liberty with qualities of character commanding the confidence of the religious public. It is notorious that the difficulty of finding such men, or of inducing them to

come forward, has been a main obstacle to the success of the cause of Reform. Any forward stripling or superannuated fop, any whiskered dandy or lordly imbecile, that can stammer out a few words about standing by the church and state, will do to set up as a Tory candidate. But popular enthusiasm or confidence asks for something more substantial, either in public character or in private worth, as a pre-requisite before it can be elicited.

Take, for instance, Essex a county containing a large proportion of Dissenters. How is it, we have been asked, that, from this county, there were returned, at the last election, nine Conservative representatives and one Liberal? Our answer is, that the Dissenters of Essex form two-fifths of the population, —a minority so powerful as to awaken the jealousy of the landed interest; and hence the very Whigs have played into the hands of the Conservatives. Essex has been lost, partly owing to the aristocratic supineness or treacherous neutrality of Lord Western, and the defection of the Barings; partly through the impossibility of producing from among its bigoted gentry a decent Liberal candidate. Why are the Dissenters to bear the reproach of inertness or defection, when the great political party in the protection of which they have been accustomed to confide, can no longer supply worthy representatives or competent leaders?

Such we believe to be the true explanation of the apparent *political* weakness of the Dissenters. Their former friends are in power, and — *honores mutant mores*. They are not in themselves a separate political party, or capable of becoming such. They are, in the counties, a religious minority. Their wealth, though very great in the aggregate, is chiefly mercantile or invested in the great branches of manufacturing industry. Their education does not fit or dispose their more opulent or leading men to devote themselves to the thorny and precarious pursuit of politics. Their resources, their energies, their enterprise, their public spirit, have been expended upon other objects, have been directed into other channels,—those of an enlarged philanthropy or religious benevolence. And the very liberality of their political principles, together with a repugnance to intolerance, has led them to give their support and confidence, without hesitation, to representatives having no connexion and little sympathy with them as a religious body. The circumstances of the times, however, render an adherence to this disinterested policy no longer compatible with a just regard either to the sacred interests that are at stake, or to their own social position. Our few remaining observations, therefore, we address more directly to our Dissenting readers.

We have been tracing back the political history of the English Protestant Dissenters to the early part of the last century. If, even at that time, it was found indispensably necessary to constitute a permanent committee to watch over their civil concerns,



is there any thing in the aspect of the Established Church, any thing in the internal condition of the nonconformist communities, or any change of political circumstances, that renders it less necessary or important that such a body of Deputies should now exert a vigilant superintendence over the general interests of the Dissenters, having the confidence and cordial support of their constituencies? Let us look back to what was our position a hundred years ago. The population of the British dominions, including their colonies, did not then exceed 12,000,000; that of the British Isles being about 9,000,000, of which the English, Scotch, and Irish Protestant Dissenters formed, perhaps, 1,500,000, and the Irish Catholics (according to Newenham) amounted to nearly the same number. But the Irish had their domestic legislature; and the British House of Commons then represented not more than 7,000,000, of whom the Nonconformists may have formed rather more than a seventh. They *now* amount, with the Methodists of all classes, and the Scottish Dissenters, to not much less than the total aggregate of the British population in 1730. Adding the Irish Presbyterians, they may certainly be estimated at 7,000,000. Meantime, the Roman Catholics of England and Ireland have risen to about the same number. The Established Church of England, while still laying claim to the exclusive support and favour of the State, and repelling with disdain any fraternization with other Protestant communities, instead of numbering five-sevenths of the people within its pale, can scarcely make good her claim to seven millions out of twenty-four;—that is to say, to perhaps half of the English, an eighth of the Irish, and a few thousands of the Scottish population. In Scotland, the Established Kirk has now but a minority of the people.

The Protestant Dissenters of 1838 are not merely placed in this altered position relative to the Established Church, their jealous and implacable enemy, but, by the union with Ireland, they are brought into a more immediate social connexion, in common with their Protestant fellow-subjects of the Establishment, with that integral portion of the body politic who adhere to the Roman Catholic faith. That legislative union which has led to this, was the act of a Tory government, dictated by considerations of State expediency, to which the Dissenters of this country were no parties. In the consequences, however, they are deeply interested. Seven millions of Roman Catholics now claim to be represented in the United Parliament. If hitherto this circumstance has operated advantageously for the cause of Civil and Religious Liberty, by strengthening the opposition to the exclusive claims of the dominant church, it is by no means certain that the religious interests of Protestant Dissenters may not hereafter be put in jeopardy by a change of policy leading to a combination between the Roman Catholic leaders and the high-church



party. Agreeing only in their political predicament, the Protestant Dissenters and the Romanists can be held together in discordant alliance only by the pressure of the incumbent grievance.

The Church of England is the last hope of Rome. While, apparently, the main-stay and bulwark of *political* Protestantism, she is giving signs of an increasing disposition to coalesce with the only other Church whose orders she deems apostolical, and to relapse into the semi-popery of Laud and Bramhall. The confident hopes of a Romish restoration in this country which are openly expressed by the Papists both at home and abroad, rest very much upon these promising indications of a better understanding between Oxford and Rome,—these apparent relentings of the long estranged daughter towards her ancient mother. How long the point of honour might remain an insuperable barrier to a union between the two Churches, so ardently desired by many, it is impossible to predict. It is, however, becoming increasingly manifest, that the only security against the revival of Popery in a mitigated form, the only safeguard of the Protestant faith in this country, is found, not in the forms of the Protestant Church, but in the strength of Evangelical Protestantism taking the shape and name of Dissent.

Such, then, is the critical position we occupy. The highest and dearest interests of our country are staked upon our maintaining the stand against Romanism on the one hand, and Anglo-Catholicism on the other, while in front of us lies a hideous mass of unreclaimed popular ignorance and infidelity, which the Socialists and other propagandists of licentiousness are attempting to organize, and to animate with an active spirit of evil. If we have overrated the numbers of the Dissenters, and their relative proportion to the population, the peril is only so much the greater. But this is not all. In the interests the Protestant Dissenters at home are implicated those of the majority of our fellow-subjects in our N. American, West Indian, S. African, and Australian colonies. A hundred years ago, the total population of the British colonies was under 3,000,000. Now, exclusive of India, notwithstanding the loss of the thirteen colonies which formed the American Union, our colonial population of already exceeds 2,000,000, and is rapidly increasing by annual emigration. Once more, the cause and interests of Protestant Dissent are identified with that most important and interesting chain of missionary stations which now encircles the globe, and upon which depend the nascent civilization of the Polynesian islands, of the Kaffer tribes, of the Malayan archipelago, and, in great measure, the spread of the Gospel among the teeming millions of India and China. Serampore, Malacca, Canton, Taheite, and other important stations are exclusively in the hand of missionary institutions maintained

by the vital energies of that spirit which has generated and which sustains what is called Dissent.

Have we then overrated the social importance of the Evangelical Dissenters? We maintain that it is not adequately appreciated, even by themselves. Theirs is, to use the words of Burke, 'the very Protestantism of the Protestant religion.' They form the *moral* strength of the liberal party; and yet they have never made any attempt to turn that strength to their own political advantage. They are not known in the legislature of their country. They are, in effect, without representatives. Not a single peer now bears the reproach of nonconformity; and in the Commons, only one solitary member is recognised as ranking with Evangelical Dissenters.\* But is the show they make in parliament a criterion of their social strength and influence? The preceding observations will demonstrate that it is *not*.

Whether, then, we consider, the magnitude of the interests now identified with the Dissenting body, or regard their relative position in reference to the Established Churches and the Romanists, and the present aspect of society, we are irresistibly led to the conviction, that at no former period did their civil affairs and their religious privileges require to be more vigilantly watched over by a permanent body properly representing their views, and enjoying the general confidence. Neither the repeal of the Test Acts, nor any subsequent concession which has been made by the justice of the Legislature, renders superfluous, in 1839, the precautionary and defensive measure which was deemed necessary in 1739, to protect their civil rights against new infringements. During the last hundred years, not a step in advance has been gained, not a concession extorted from the Church and State, but as the result of their own efforts, by means either of some standing committee or of some association formed *pro re natâ*. And it would be sheer fatuity, to look in future to the innate wisdom or generosity of rulers or legislators, more especially in the present balanced state of parties, for that guardianship of our rights, or that maintenance of the grand and distinguishing principle of Religious Equality in legislation, which it is our proper business and duty to secure for ourselves and our country by the force of opinion and moral influence, which, rightly wielded and directed, is true political strength.

Have we, then, any such effective organization as to come in aid of our weakness in the national representation? Is there any society or association to which the country at large can look

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\* We refer of course to the hon. member for Leeds; but Mr. Charles Hindley is, we believe, a Moravian, and claims to be added; Mr. Brotherton is a Swedenborgian; Mr. Pease, a Friend.



with confidence, as representing the sentiments, or protecting the civil affairs of the Dissenters? We believe that this inquiry can be met only with a direct negative. The United Committee, from its very constitution as a metropolitan association, even if it had exhibited more decided proof of vigour and competency, cannot claim to represent the sense of the country. The Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty is still in existence; but an occasional Resolution or two, inserted in the papers, are, we believe, the only signs it gives of vitality. The Congregational and Baptist Unions are purely religious in their object, and are, therefore, to be put quite out of consideration. The Church-rate Abolition Society confines its operations to one specific object; with the attainment of which of course its exertions will terminate. The Voluntary Church Society had for its sole object, to diffuse information, by lectures and publications, with regard to the great question at issue between the advocates and the opponents of ecclesiastical establishments; and its operations have been, from the first, extremely limited, till, at length, it has well-nigh become extinct. We may then safely assert, that no effective association of the description required to secure the co-operation and command the confidence of the friends to religious liberty, has hitherto existed. No political organization of the Protestant Dissenters for purposes either of aggression or defence, has been attempted. In this respect, they would seem to have become less alive to their own civil interests, less political as Dissenters, than they were a hundred years ago. They were then, a far less considerable, but a more compact and united body. Now, their very increase has rendered it the more difficult to obtain an effective combination; and their energies have consequently been too much expended in local and desultory efforts. This is, perhaps, the true explanation of their apparent want of union and general supineness.

Yet, the main pretext assigned for the formation of the 'Lay Union for the Defence of the Established Church,' is the alleged existence of some secret and powerful confederacy of the Dissenters for the purpose of subverting the Establishment! That Church which is always in danger, is represented to be threatened with some new and undefined peril from the organised machinations of its religious opponents. The chief indication of this conspiracy, it seems, is the determined resistance almost every where raised against the imposition of church-rates. That opposition originated, however, quite independently of any organised movement, and years before the formation of the society which is charged with having created it. Nor was that course adopted till the House of Commons had already affirmed the existing system of church-rates to be a grievance; and a Bill had actually been introduced, not, indeed, a satisfactory one



in its details, but virtually conceding the principle contended for by the opponents of the impost. That must needs be a formidable conspiracy to which the Government and the Legislature are accessaries. But, so far as the 'Lay Union' is intended to defend that imaginary palladium of the Establishment,—church-rates, (and this appears to be the main object of its promoters,) it must be considered as not less an anti-government than an anti-dissenting movement. Under the mask of religious zeal, the 'Lay Union' conceals a spirit of party opposition to the ministerial measure. It might have been supposed, that an Established Church, in the full-blown plenitude of its mitred pomp and territorial possessions, having for its guardians not only its staff of prelates sitting where they ought not, but the whole conservatism of the House of Lords, and an overwhelming majority of the Commons,—with its political agents, one or more, in gown and cassock, in every parish of the kingdom,—a Church which boasts that its adherents possess thirty-nine fortieths of the real wealth of the country,—could scarcely stand in need of the defence volunteered by a little junto of laymen; a defence of the powerful against the weak, of those who claim to be the many against the few, of the oppressor against the oppressed! Why should it be more necessary to form a society for the defence of the Church, than for the defence of the State? Are they no longer in conjugal alliance? Is it that the Church asks for defence against the Government? Are we to infer that there is a schism between the members of the body ecclesiastical and their regal head? Such a conclusion would not be far from the fact; and an open rupture would seem to be not very distant. There are members and ministers of the Establishment, whose 'loyalty is already engaged to the 'Church Catholic,' and who say, they cannot enter into the drift 'and intentions of her oppressors' (the British Parliament) 'without betraying her.' The Lay Union consists, we believe, exclusively of *soi-disant* conservatives, opposed to the present Administration. These church-defenders are virtually in conspiracy against the civil government.\* But, if it has come to this, it is high time that those whose loyalty is of a more constitutional character, should unite in defence of the State against the Church.

Such are the considerations which have led to the highly

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\* In his late Charge, the Bishop of London charges Her Majesty's ministers with 'a distinct and unequivocal violation of the pledge given by the Government to the (Church) Commissioners who had consented to resume their office in the new commission; on which they announced to the Prime Minister that they, could no longer continue to take part in the measures.'—'The more I think of it,' says R. H. Froude, 'the more sure I am, that unless something is done about it, there must be a separation in the church before long, and that I shall be one of the separatists.'

important and well-considered step taken by the gentlemen who have put forth a plan of a 'General Union for the Promotion of Religious Equality;' that is to say, the civil equality of all religious denominations, without which, it is justly remarked in the circular 'Address,' there can be no complete enjoyment of that political liberty which is the only safeguard of *personal* rights.

'After a struggle of centuries, Religious Liberty is now recognised in this country by law. But there is a power which arrogates to itself a mysterious authority and indefeasible rights above and beyond the law, and which threatens at the present moment to overshadow the legislature and government of the country; aspiring to regain the political ascendancy from which it has been dethroned, and to restore the high places subverted by our constitutional reformation. We are menaced with an ecclesiastical restoration; the worst of all restorations, as 'a restoration is the worst of all revolutions.' The objects sought by this Society are, the recognition and maintenance of that civil equality of all religious denominations to which the abolition of the sacramental test, and the repeal of other penal and restrictive statutes, were intended to raise all British subjects in this country. Were those who stand up for the rights of conscience to be defeated in this final struggle, religious liberty itself would be again placed in fearful jeopardy.

'The necessity for active and well-organised efforts to maintain our constitutional liberties against ecclesiastical usurpation, is becoming every day more and more apparent. The aggressive attitude assumed by the high-church party,—the revival of the semi-popish dogmas and extravagant claims of Laud and Sacheverell,—the uncompromising intolerance and fanatical bigotry of the Oxford Tract party,—the vexatious attempts to renew the obsolete terrors of the ecclesiastical courts,—the recent formation of a political 'LAY UNION,' for the express purpose of defending the compulsory policy and exorbitant claims of the clergy, headed by a committee comprising several members of parliament,—these indications of determined animosity on the part of the votaries of the hierarchy, leave no option to those who value, as their dearest birthright, liberty of conscience, and who maintain the supreme authority of the Holy Scriptures as the only rule of faith.'

The immediate object of this Union is stated to be, to *bring the concentrated force of enlightened public sentiment to bear more effectually upon legislation*, and to secure, for this purpose, an efficient co-operation between the friends of religious liberty in the British empire in defence of their common rights and privileges. The 'Fundamental Resolutions' affirm it to be 'the inalienable right,' because it is 'the paramount duty' of every man, to worship God according to his religious convictions of the Divine will; and declare, that to compel any one to contribute to the support of religious rites of which he disapproves, is manifestly unjust, and at variance with the spirit and principles of Christianity; also, that



church establishments 'involve a violation of equity towards other denominations, create serious impediments to the propagation of the gospel, render the union of Protestants impracticable, and are the occasion of inevitable social discord.'

\* 'The present plan contemplates no illicit agitation, no sinister purpose of sectarian partizanship, no attempt to obtain for other religious bodies a share of the ecclesiastical revenues of the country. It is submitted under a deep sense of the obligations devolving upon the Christian citizen, the patriot, and the philanthropist, at this critical era. The very concessions to the principles of Religious Liberty and Equality that have been gained, have imposed upon the conservators of those principles new duties, arising out of their altered social position—a position exposing them at the same time to the vindictive jealousies of formidable opponents. Should they decline to discharge the public duties thus devolved upon them, or relax in their vigorous resistance to new encroachments, it is easy to foresee that the very advantages that have been won will eventually be turned against them.'

It remains to be seen with what degree of spirit and energy this forcible appeal shall be responded to. We await the result with intense and anxious interest; not simply from a conviction that the movement is critically adapted to the present exigency, and that momentous results depend upon its success, but also because we think it will test and develop the genuine public spirit, the Christian patriotism that exists among us. Upon the strength of that vital principle of liberty that has created our institutions, which has its root in the faith of the Reformation, and is nourished by the religious sentiment of the inalienable right of conscience,—must rest all our hope of defeating and triumphing over the formidable conspiracy of Apostolics, Orangemen, Chartists, and Socialists against the best interests of society. *At present* it is only a struggle of principles; but who shall say what political consequences might ensue, were high-church principles to recover the ascendancy? It is startling to find the possibility of *a civil war*\* coolly mooted by the man who is held up as a paragon of sanctity by the Oxford Anglo-Catholics; and this not as an event to be deprecated. Similar language has been held by our Orangemen, as well as by the itinerant incendiaries who may be designated as Tory-Radicals. We are in no immediate danger of so awful a calamity. Yet is there not some ground for apprehending that the frail and precious life of our youthful sovereign may be all that is interposed between us and a revolutionary struggle? Who then can regard without some anxiety all the possible contingencies of the mysterious future?

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\* 'I am afraid, I must confess, that the only war I would enter into with spirit would be a *civil war*.'—Froude's *Remains*, p. 436.



Come what may, the strength, the genuine nationality, the characteristic intelligence, free spirit, and religious principle of England, which have made England what it is, in spite of Rome, and in spite of Oxford,—reside in what we call the middle classes. The gentry, with not a few noble exceptions, cannot be depended upon.\* Their narrow and half-pagan education, the strong tincture of feudalism in their aristocratic prejudices, and their dissipated habits, indispose them to the love of freedom or to the seriousness of scriptural piety. The clergy, except when their possessions or prerogatives are touched or perilled, are always found inclining to the side of civil despotism, the natural ally of a spurious ghostly authority. Upon the religious portion of the middle classes, and those individuals of superior wealth or rank to whom the good sense and piety of the ranks below them have been communicated through the channels of opinion, working upward, as all reforms have done,—upon the liberal portion of the upper ranks and the educated and religious of the middle class, depend, under God, the conservation of all that is precious in our liberties, popular in our institutions, Protestant in our Protestantism, scriptural in our creed, and catholic in our charity.

Away then with sectarianism. The basis of union must be common principles of mutual tolerance for our common self-defence. This basis is broadly and strongly laid in the plan of a General Union for the Promotion of Religious Equality; and although the appeal to the public appears to proceed, in the first instance, from those who may be deemed most interested in the question,—the Dissenters, yet, we have no doubt that liberal Episcopalians will, as in former times, cordially unite with those who have had the courage to raise the standard of resistance to unequal legislation and ecclesiastical intolerance. We confidently look to see such true-hearted churchmen—friends to the spiritualities of the church, not to its corruptions and state encumbrances—as Sir Culling E. Smith, Mr. Charles Lushington, Mr. Divett, Mr. Matthew Bridges, Mr. T. W. Black, Captain Moorsom of Birmingham, and others, whom we could name as worthy associates,—responding to the call made upon them to avow their attachment to the cause of Religious Equality as the only means of attaining to either perfect civil liberty or religious union. According to the proposed plan, as soon as a sufficient number of gentlemen have been appointed to constitute an effective representative committee, those who have charged themselves, provisionally, with originating the movement, will resign their powers to the chosen deputies. The plan, we have already

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\* ‘Freeholders and tradesmen,’ remarks Richard Baxter, ‘are the strength of religion and civility in a country; and gentlemen beggars and servile tenants, are the strength of iniquity’

shown, is by no means altogether new: the original constitution of the civil deputies of the three denominations, contemplated a union of a somewhat similar character; and the object of the 'Meeting for Sufferings' has been, to secure for the Society of Friends what this General Union proposes to accomplish on behalf of all denominations.

Conservatives, Orangemen, Roman Catholics, Apostolicals, Char-tists, Socialists, have all severally their associations, public or secret, and are pushing forward their organisation in every direction. The soundest portion of the community, the middle classes, in whom the 'Reform Act' was intended to vest the elective franchise, which it is the object alike of Tories and of universal-suffragemen to wrest from them or to nullify,—*they* alone who form the strength of the liberal party, are without organisation, and will have been, should this plan rouse them into energetic union, the last to enter into a political, and in their case patriotic, combination. If an apology is required for this tardy movement, here is surely a valid one. But an over-ruling necessity for it is created by the considerations to which we have adverted, relating to the position of Great Britain, and the aspect of the times. Not to be a politician in these days, not to be religiously observant of our political duties as citizens, is to be a traitor to those principles which are identified with the advancement of Christ's kingdom, and to that cause which is the last and best hope of the world.

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Art. II. 1. *Geraldine, a Sequel to Coleridge's Christabel; with other Poems.* By MARTIN FARQUHAR TUPPER, Esq., M.A. London: Rickerby.

2. *The Poems of Richard Monckton Milnes, author of 'Memorials of a Tour in Greece.'* 2 vols. London: Moxon.

THE poems which we here have classed together have one quality in common,—a quality to which we desire to draw attention, because it is auspicious to the love of poetry amongst us, and to the achievement of those great objects for which poetry was unquestionably made an essential of our nature. They are full of a sound healthy feeling, and of the spirit of domestic life and of religion. The great outbreak of poetic power which so brilliantly marked the opening of the present century, was itself singularly marked by a deficiency of the recognition and reverence of Christianity. With the exception of Cowper and Montgomery, what distinctively Christian poets had we in that wonderful group that burst like young giants from the long night of genius? Campbell vindicated the immortality of our nature, in "The Pleasures of Hope," and Rogers in "The Pleasures of Memory;" Coleridge and Wordsworth were full of a strong religious feeling, but as often has been remarked, though that



feeling had unquestionably been nourished in the very bosom of Christianity, there was little direct reference to that faith; the religion of those great poets, as exhibited in their writings, was rather the religion of nature than of the New Testament. Southey, in his *Joan of Arc* and *Madoc* made more visible use of the name and doctrines of Christianity, but in the bulk of his poetry, he was rather the poet of Indian and Arabian mythologies, and of a waggish *diablerie*, than of Christianity. Scott was the minstrel of chivalry and feudalism. On the other hand, we had Byron in his strength, and Shelley in the gorgeous splendour of his imagination, openly teaching scepticism of the received faith; and Moore, casting contempt on it, by the looseness of his lyrics, or spending the force of his genius on Eastern fiction.

For power, intensity, and originality, there is scarcely any period of English poetry which can, for a moment, be compared to that which has just gone by; but the long dearth, and it might almost be said, death of poetry, marking the greater portion of the period betwixt Pope and Cowper, while English society was rapidly advancing in all other arts, and in the extension of its wealth and acquaintance with the world, had produced an actual craving for some new demonstration of passion and inventive power in the regions of imagination; and the great events, the French Revolution, and its wars and rumours of wars which followed, stirring up all the soul of humanity, and accustoming the public mind to the keenest and most novel excitements, produced their correspondent effects upon the minds of our rising poets. They found themselves with the most ample and magnificent materials for poetic labour before them, and a vast audience hungering and thirsting for a display of intellectual wonders. The consequence was, that our young poets, working for such readers, and working too, under the influence of the same excitements, threw off a mass of poetry, which for originality, splendour of imagery and language, and for depth of passion, stands unrivalled in the whole field of modern literature. After this great season of public avidity, came the natural reaction. The stimulus of public events had in a great measure ceased; the appetite was, moreover, in a great measure, sated. To say that poetry was no longer read as it had been, was only saying, in other words, that circumstances had raised a number of great men who had given food for the heart and the fancy, for a considerable time to come. But there have been plenty of symptoms growing upon us latterly, that the appetite for good poetry is not gone. We have had reprints of the works of nearly all our greater poets; and new aspirants at least have not wanted audience.

But causes have been for some years operating, which cannot fail to create a demand for a poetry of a description different to that to which we have just alluded. The great revolutionary wars are over; there has been a peace amongst the chief Euro-



pean nations. The people of different countries, scattered and confounded by the long chaos of war and bloodshed, have had time to look about them, and ascertain their real condition; they have had time to feel the miseries and wants that had grown upon them during their sanguinary frenzy; they have found to their amaze, that, while they fancied themselves fighting for independence, their governors had been cunningly wrapping about them the bonds of a most subtle and grievous thralldom. England, especially, finds herself with a swarming population, cramped, and made wretched by unnatural fetters on her commerce; the cost of her past follies falls heavily on her, in the shape of taxation; to relieve herself, there is a loud outcry for reform—reform of a thousand grievances. There is a desperate struggle to keep up a mercantile intercourse between nation and nation; every ingenuity of machinery, and the new and gigantic power of steam, are put into operation, but still difficulties press on the crowd; hope loses its ardency in the slow progress of improvement, and multitudes look towards emigration for relief. On all sides, and to all quarters of the world, multitudes are pouring into new countries; but all these agencies and changes cannot proceed without trying the human heart in every possible way. Families living in incessant toil and wretchedness, families that look with dismay to the future lot of their children, families torn asunder by the necessity of emigration, and their interests and sympathies thus strangely linked to distant and savage countries; in all these, will not the human heart seek for an expression of its feelings? can it be thus crushed by necessity, thus agonized by extinguished hopes, and excited by new ones, and remain dumb? No, it must find an expression, and that expression will be a poetry peculiar to this age and crisis; a poetry born of its stern necessities, and of its widely expanding hopes and prospects.

Providence is doing a great work, and making use of the follies and crimes of men, to pour Christian knowledge and civilization into all quarters of the globe, and there will be a poetry and an eloquence that will breathe of the new order of things, and thrill with sympathies of their own. What gave Burns the quick popularity of his own age? It was the language of human nature flashing from him like lightning.

‘A man’s a man for a’ that,’

was an electric spark that ran through the whole living chain of humanity. What has given Ebenezer Elliot his fame? It is that he has pronounced with indignant energy, the wants and wrongs of his own vast and suffering class. He has given *them* a language who before were dumb with excess of feeling. There is a new and a wider field for poetry, so far as it is “the eloquence of truth,” opening every day, than it ever before possessed, because at no former period were there such immense masses so earnestly

struggling for life, and for the realization of those desires which their increased knowledge has given them. The reign of infidelity has been tried, and has brought on Europe such bitterness, that Christianity is now clung to with increased eagerness, as the source even of peace and prosperity. Family ties are daily burst asunder by emigration, and the domestic affections are proportionably quickened, and appear the more sacred. The poets, therefore, who are sure to find an audience, will be those in whom Christian faith and domestic ties find the most devoted advocates. Of this class, are the two whose names stand at the head of this article. We may be delighted occasionally to catch the tinkle of the harp of chivalry and fairy-land, but depend upon it, the multitude will listen more eagerly to lays like the following by Mr. Milnes.

‘YOUTH’S FAIR RESOLVE.

‘Dear friend, I would that our free life should be  
Like the red blood that bounding from the heart,  
Speeds onward through each ministering artery,  
Bearing fresh force to each remotest part,  
And stagnant never,  
Till death’s uncouth and wintry mastery,  
Dams up the river.  
Is it because our fellows are depraved,  
That we should leave our work, and be like them?  
No, if the laws of love and truth are braved,  
From peasant’s cap to jewelled diadem,—  
The more’s the pity;  
“Ten righteous men,” the Patriarch says, “had saved  
“The heaven-curst city.”

\* \* \* \* \*  
‘Let us go forth, and resolutely dare,  
With sweat of brow to toil our little day,—  
And if a tear fall on the task of care,  
In memory of those spring hours past away,  
Brush it not by!  
Our hearts to God! to brother-men  
Aid, labor, blessing, prayer, and then  
To these a sigh.’

Mr. Tupper has, indeed, given us as the opening article of his volume a continuation of Coleridge’s ‘Christabel.’ It was a bold undertaking to follow out and complete so singular a production. To say that Mr. Tupper’s continuation is successful would be much on a par with saying that he had performed a miracle. We do not believe that there is any man living that could complete that poem to the satisfaction of those who are familiar with it. We do not believe that Coleridge himself could have done it, ten

years after he wrote the fragment. The music of the versification of *Christabel* was the music of the poet's own mind, at that period, under the influence of a peculiar temperament, and peculiar exciting circumstances. That temperament and those circumstances once past—the internal harmonies and varying cadences heard in his own spirit passed with them, like a chant of Ariel, entrancing at the moment, but irrevocable when once gone. But for one man to complete the poetical creation of another, and that other a great master, obviously requires, not merely that the continuator shall equal the originator, but that he shall be a fac-simile of him in all his intellectual powers, tastes, and feelings; or that he shall have the still more wonderful faculty of throwing himself out of his own mind into that of his prototype, and becoming so. There is, for this reason, no single instance in the history of our poetic literature of such miraculous success. We have had ‘Rejected Addresses,’ a ‘Feast of the Poets,’ and Hogg’s curious volume of pretended contributions by celebrated authors, all clever enough to make us laugh; but the continuation of Chaucer’s ‘Squire’s Tale,’ by Spenser in the second and third cantos of his *Faery Queene*, the nearest approach to victory in this arduous enterprise, is still so different in manner from the original, that we may yet say with Milton—

‘Call up him who left half told,  
The story of Cambuscan bold;  
Of Cambal and of Algarsife,  
And who had Canace to wife.’

We make these remarks, not to depreciate the poetic powers of Mr. Tupper, but because we see so much to admire in them as to desire to warn him from a Quixotic application of them. There is a noble field lying before our young poets, in which the triumphs of man in reducing the very elements to his service, in the wide diffusion of knowledge and happiness; and the noble endurance by patient hearts of sorrow, suffering, and shame in the common cause of the human race, will furnish themes of thrilling interest. In this noble field our author may signally distinguish himself. He has a vigor and freedom of language, and the still rarer qualification, a sound and generous mind. His poems of domestic interest we have alluded to. His ‘Contrasted Sonnets,’ furnish many happy illustrations of the workings of passion and fancy. Who has not experienced the revulsion of mind so naturally described in the following sonnets, or rather stanzas?

‘COUNTRY.

‘Most tranquil, innocent, and happy life,  
Full of the holy joy chaste nature yields,  
Redeemed from care, and sin, and the hot strife  
That wings around the smoked, unwholesome dome



Where mighty Mammon his black sceptre wields,—  
 Here let me rest in humble cottage home,  
 Here let me labour in the enamelled fields.  
 How pleasant in these ancient woods to roam,  
 With kind-eyed friend or kindly-teaching book ;  
 Or the fresh gallop on the dew-dropped heath,  
 Or at fair eventide with feathered hook,  
 To strike the swift trout in the shallow brook,  
 Or in the bower to twine the jes'mine wreath,  
 Or at the earliest blush of summer morn,  
 To trim the bed, or turn the new-mown hay,  
 Or pick the perfum'd hop, or reap the golden corn,  
 So should my peaceful life all smoothly glide away.

‘ TOWN.

‘ Enough of lanes, and trees, and valleys green.  
 Enough of briary woods and hot chalk down,  
 I hate the startling quiet of the scene,  
 And long to hear the gay glad hum of town.  
 My garden be the garden of the Graces,  
 Flowers full of smiles with fashion for their queen ;  
 My pleasant fields be crowds of joyous faces,  
 The brilliant route, the concert, and the ball,—  
 There be my joys an endless carnival !  
 For I do loathe that sickening solitude,  
 That childish hunting-up of flies and weeds,  
 Or worse, the company of rustics rude,  
 Whose only hopes are bound in clods and seeds :  
 Out on it ! Let me live in town delight,  
 And for your tedious country-mornings bright,  
 Give me gay London with its noon and night.’

The ‘ Chamois Hunter,’ suspended in the chasm of the mountains, makes the blood curdle ; but we must content ourselves with the following verses, which are as honorable to the author, as their truth is disgraceful to the age ; and most especially to London.

‘ CRUELTY.

‘ Will none befriend that poor dumb brute,  
 Will no man rescue him ? —  
 With weaker effort gasping, mute,  
 He strains in every limb.  
 ‘ Spare him, O spare :—he feels,—he feels !  
 Big tears roll from his eyes !  
 Another crushing blow !—he reels,  
 Staggers,—and falls and dies.  
 ‘ Poor jaded horse, the blood runs cold,  
 Thy guiltless wrongs to see ;  
 To heaven, O starved one, lame and old,  
 Thy dim eye pleads for thee.

'Thou too, O dog, whose faithful zeal,  
Fawns on some ruffian grim,—  
He stripes thy skin with many a weal,  
And yet,—thou lovest him.

'Shame! that of all the living chain  
That links creation's plan,  
There is but one delights in pain,  
The savage monarch, man!

'O cruelty, who could rehearse  
Thy million dismal deeds,  
Or track the workings of the curse,  
By which all nature bleeds?

'Thou meanest crime—thou coward sin,  
Thou base flint-hearted vice,—  
Scorpion!—to sting thy heart within  
Thyself shalt all suffice.

'The merciless is doubly curst,  
As mercy is 'twice blest ;'  
Vengeance, though slow, shall come—but first,  
The vengeance of the breast.

• • • • \*

'God! God! thy whole creation groans,  
Thy fair world writhes in pain ;  
Shall the dread incense of its moans,  
Arise to thee in vain?

'The hollow eye of famine pleads,  
The face with weeping pale,  
The heart that all in secret bleeds,  
The grief that tells no tale ;

'Oppression's victim weak and mild,  
Scarce shrinking from the blow,  
And the poor wearied factory child,  
Join in the dirge of woe.

'O cruel world! O sickening fear  
Of goad, or knife, or thong ;  
O load of evils ill to bear!  
How long, good God, how long?'

The resemblance between the two poets under notice holds good only in the healthiness, humanity, and domesticity of their natures. Mr. Monckton Milnes belongs to a very different school to Mr. Tupper. Perhaps, Mr. Milnes would hear with surprise, that he must be classed with Alfred Tennyson; for we observe in his preface, that he disclaims all consciousness of imitation. Nor is it of imitation that we accuse him. It is something very different to

imitation which draws to one another good poets. It is a kindred feeling that kindles at the sound of strains dear to them, and at the sight of imagery that recalls to their consciousness, how much of the same kind lies hoarded in their own minds. It would be a curious inquiry to trace the points of resemblance between Keats and Shelley, Tennyson and Milnes; yet nothing is more certain than that these writers constitute a class that have acted on each, and are closely allied in poetic character, without, perhaps, borrowing a single idea one of the other. The style of Keats perpetually reminds us of 'Comus' and 'The Midsummer Night's Dream;' that of Shelley is widely different: yet we cannot read Tennyson without being reminded strongly of both of these writers. There is, however, that in Tennyson which is exclusively his own; and it is in precisely those parts that Mr. Milnes gives us an echo of him. Listen.

' Back again, back again !  
We are passing back again ;  
We are ceasing to be men !  
Without the strife  
Of waning life,  
Or weary fears  
Of loveless years,—  
Without the darkened eye,  
Without the paling brow,  
Without the pulse of pain,  
Out of our maturity  
We are passing now  
Back again !'

Again—

' My own friend, my old friend !  
Time's a soldier bold, friend !  
Of his lofty prowess  
Many a tale is told, friend !  
Nations are his puppets  
To be bought and sold, friend !  
He can mock the conqueror,  
Raze his strongest hold, friend !  
Fool the stern philosopher,  
Win the miser's gold, friend !  
But though earthly nature  
Has so frail a mould, friend !  
What the tyrant cannot do,  
Is to make *us* cold, friend !'

Or take the following passages from 'The Flight of Youth,' so similar in subject and treatment to Tennyson's 'Death of the Old Year.'



' Youth is gone away,  
Cruel, cruel Youth !

\* \* \*  
Alas, we know not how He went,  
We knew not He was going,  
For had our tears once found a vent,  
We had stayed Him with their flowing.  
It was as an earthquake when  
We awoke and found Him gone,  
We were miserable men,  
We were helpless, every one !

Yes ! He must have gone away  
In his guise of every day,  
In his common dress, the same  
Perfect face, and perfect frame,  
For in feature, for in limb,  
Who can be compared to Him ?

\* \* \*  
Think with Him how gay of yore  
We made sunshine out of shade,—  
Think with Him how light we bore  
All the burden sorrow laid ;  
All went happily about Him—  
How shall we toil on without Him ?

Such resemblances come upon us in every page. The same dainty culling of delicate epithets ; the same musical cadences, and quaintly but beautifully varying metres, such as have not been surpassed since Shakspeare scattered his sweet snatches of song through his dramas—the rythmical melody of which lingers on the ear so deliciously.

But we should be still more justified in tracing this resemblance in the highest efforts of the two poets. 'The Lay of the 'Humble;' 'The World's Exile;' 'The Weary Soul,' &c.; are but the counterparts of 'The Soliloquy of a second-rate spirit ill 'at ease with itself.' 'The Deserted House;' 'The Palace of 'Art,' &c. We might show it again in the female portraits introduced, as in 'Leonore;' 'Myrrha, at Parting;' and 'Myrrha, on 'Returning : ' but the same character runs through the volumes of these two writers, so that on hearing a verse of one we might readily attribute it to the other.

In one particular Mr. Milnes far surpasses Mr. Tennyson; and that is, in the sense and feeling of religion. There is not only a pure but a holy spirit in the volumes of Milnes. They cannot be read without making us better and more affectionate; and read once, such is their lyrical beauty, they will be read often. Their Author is, we believe, an active Member of Parliament. He inscribes one volume to 'My Friend, the Marquis of Northampton;

and the other, 'To my Sister, the Viscountess of Galway.' The second volume, which, for the most part, consists of Italian Sketches, bears evidence of his having lived a good deal abroad; it is, therefore, delightful to see that the fascinations of rank and wealth and foreign sojourn, have not been able to prevent him diving deep into the mysteries of his own mind, and devoting his energies to so ennobling a pursuit as poetry in its own legitimate vocation. But we perceive that Mr. Milnes has not lived in the world exempt from its penalties. He furnishes another instance of the truth that,

'We learn in sorrow what we teach in song.'

We find everywhere the vivid portraiture of those sensations which the bitterest experience only makes us acquainted with. We must make room for one of two poems with which the first volume concludes, which records the severing of the tenderest of human ties, in a strain of melancholy beauty.

#### 'LIFE IN DEATH.

'Indeed you do me wrong,—I merit not  
Those hard censorious eyes and dull regards,  
Because I have not wept, or sighed, or raved,  
Or sat in a mute madness, though I knew  
That she whom we so loved, is gone away.  
I have lost nothing, why then should I weep?  
She is to *me* the same she ever was,  
A never-ceasing presence, a life-light  
In the dark watches of the pleasant night,  
Or some far darker passages of day.

'If I would weep or mourn her fancied loss,  
The azure fire, that wells from her calm eyes,  
Laps up my tears, and tells me she is here.  
If I am sick at heart, she sits beside me,  
And lays the velvet back of her white hand  
Upon my cheek, to ask if all be well;  
Or parts the hair upon my heated brows.  
Since that one instant, in itself a life,  
When, as commissioned messengers, my eyes  
Went to her, and brought back into my soul  
A gift, the greatest of all possible gifts,  
Which God-empowered man can give to man,  
A notion of the absolute beautiful—  
Since then, all nature has been one to me,  
One form impregnated with her sole spirit.  
I feel the ambient sweetness of her breath  
In flowering rosiers, and the woods of spring;  
Her voice is gushing from the nightingale;

There's not a cloud that walks the unsullied air,  
 But takes from her its majesty of gait,  
 For space was made to show how she could move.  
 I do not say that when I saw her lie  
 Hushed to cold sleep by Nature's lullabies,  
 (The same that plaintive nurse eternally  
 Sings, as she rocks to rest her dearly-loved)  
 I did not, for one moment, stare aghast,  
 And know the blood stood still about my heart ;  
 But soon the wailers left me there alone,  
 And in the quiet of the gloom I saw  
 The blessed image, moving, ministering,  
 By me, about me,—just as heretofore.

'O ye! who talk of Death and mourn for Death,  
 Why do you raise a phantom of your weakness,  
 And then shriek loud to see what ye have made?  
 There is no Death to those who know of Life—  
 No Time, to those who see Eternity.'

We here close Mr. Milnes's volumes with reluctance. We would draw the attention of our readers to the poem of 'The Brothers,' so full of beautiful pictures of English life as it now is both at home and abroad; to the fine legend of 'St. Patrick Departing from Scotland,' and the rich old one of 'Charlemagne and the Hymn of Christ;' but we trust to meet Mr. Milnes again, and see him follow out such noble strains of Christian philosophy as he gives us a glimpse of in 'The Combat of Life;' the tone of regret for what is lost with youth giving place to the more heroic spirit of the time-tried man; proving himself, to use his own words, one of those—

———— 'to whom a strength is given,  
 A Will, a self-constraining Energy,  
 A Faith which feeds upon no earthly hope,  
 Which never thinks of Victory, but content  
 In its own consummation, combatting  
 Because it ought to combat (even as Love  
 Is its own cause and cannot have another),  
 And conscious that to find in martyrdom  
 The stamp and signet of most perfect life  
 Is all the science that mankind can reach,—  
 Rejoicing fights, and still rejoicing falls.'



Art. III. *History of Rome.* By THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D., Head Master of Rugby School, Late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and Member of the Archæological Society of Rome. Vol. I.—Early History to the Burning of Rome by the Gauls. London: B. Fellowes. 1838.

THE passage of the mind out of fable into truth, as out of superstition into true religion, is peculiarly arduous. If it begin with positive progress, error is seldom thoroughly thrown off: the old notions cling by us so as to tinge and mar the new truth. But if we begin with detecting and unlearning error, an interval of extravagant scepticism is generally to be apprehended, during which the mind lies fallow, in preparation of a harvest that is to come.

Lamentable as such an interval in religious belief must be, it need not much grieve us in mere historical criticism, if those who first addressed themselves to sift out scrupulously the wheat and chaff of ancient stories, were prone too much to doubt every thing that had previously been received. The progress of the controversy concerning the Roman history, is so well known to all who are connected with our universities, that if our work circulated largely among such, it might seem needless to do more than allude to it. But in connexion with an article that we lately put forth, upon School Histories of Rome,\* it may here seem desirable to give some short account of this subject.

The controversy is to be dated from the appearance (in 1738) of Beaufort's work on the Uncertainty of the *First Five Ages* of the Roman Republic. He had the merit of establishing a few points of importance so firmly, that they were like arrows in the vitals, cankering all that was around them; and although his scepticism was probably inordinate, he made an impression that could not be erased. Another work of his (in 1766) on the Roman constitution, is a laborious and critical performance, valuable both as a repository of antiquities, and as a pattern to after-writers; showing that even where a narrative is disfigured with legends, substantial truth may be gathered from it concerning the institutions of a people. The question was taken up in the Academy of the Belles Lettres, at Paris. M. de Ponilly attacked the fidelity of the common narrative, which was vigorously defended by the Abbé Sallier. To us it appears that the Abbé had greatly the advantage of his antagonist, whose scepticism was far too loose,

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\* We would request our constant readers to correct in that Article the following misprints. Vol. IV.

P. 197, l. 26, *for* "Samnites," *read* "Sabines."

P. 203, l. 10, *for* "(last) book" *read* "(lost) book."

based upon sweeping generalities, with much display of wide reading, but with the appearance of a very superficial knowledge of the subject immediately concerned. The Abbé powerfully urges that it is contrary to the facts to allege that no documents of the earlier history escaped the Gothic conflagration of Rome; for besides various treaties, the words of which Polybius found in the archives of the *Ædiles*, we know that the laws of the twelve tables entirely survived that catastrophe, and considerable fragments of them have actually come down to us: that the miracles and legendary tales objected by the other party, were not believed by Cicero or Livy, any more than by ourselves: that these great writers were quite aware of the occasional garbling of the pontifical books, and even set themselves to detect the forgeries: that the means of detecting them were then, and are in various instances still, at hand; and that such individual falsehoods are so far from discrediting the main facts of the story, as indeed to confirm them, by assuring us of the discriminating criticism of the ancient writers on whose judgment we are forced to depend.

In 1793, the celebrated Heyne, alarmed at the wild and dangerous proposals of those who, in the mania for imitating Roman republicanism, were urging (under the name of an Agrarian law) an equal division of all the soil of the country; put forth a remarkable address to the University of Göttingen, in which he proved that the Agrarian laws of Rome had never had the most remote application to private property; but were merely laws concerning the management or disposal of the public domain, which the rich and powerful were ever seeking to appropriate to their individual interest. The importance of this discovery was not limited to the particular fact. It showed how much in the dark all modern historians of Rome had been as to the character of the internal feuds of that city, so many of which turned upon the Agrarian laws. It exhibited in deep colours the prejudice which (at a time when the manifest evils of wild democracy had made every well-meaning man an aristocrat,) biassed Livy and even Cicero in every allusion to the contests of patricians and plebeians. It forced men to the conclusion that Livy and Dionysius had not always understood the documents from which they wrote, and were likely to mislead their readers by an ignorance which is yet not beyond the power of modern criticism to enlighten.

This singular conclusion, we believe, followed from Heyne's discovery; but it was reserved for Niebuhr to confirm and illustrate it with a weight of argument and extent of learning which has at length silenced all opposers. He conceived a magnificent idea of a true and perfect history; that it ought to open to us the private as well as public life of the people; their minds and hearts, their trades and amusements, the nature and machinery of their

institutions, with the action and reaction of the parts on one another; and finding how much was deficient on all these heads in the ancient historians of Rome, who assumed as known numerous things which are obscure to us, he formed the plan of writing the history as it were anew. To this end he put together the fragments of antiquity scattered through writers who are *not* historians. Prose and poetry were alike forced by him to yield their contributions. The broadest farce and the lowest drinking song, he showed, might be turned to useful purposes. His wonderful learning left no corner or cranny of literature unsearched, to correct, as well as to supply, Dionysius and Livy. The extracts from Cato found in Servius's notes on the *Æneid*; the short references to antiquity scattered through Cicero, Tacitus, Pliny, and other great writers; the notices of antiquarians and lawyers; are, as he conceived, less likely to be biassed than more formal narratives. The two great historians had a case to make out, or a picture to set off; and by habitually yielding to such influences, were less likely to value truth for its own sake; scholiasts were liable to no such temptation. So deeply did Niebuhr feel this, that, *cæteris paribus*, it is probable he would have preferred the tale of an anonymous writer, hooked up by the chance-cast line of a curious student, to that of the laborious Dionysius. That love of novelty pleaded as powerfully with him on the same side, on a superficial view most men will judge.

But to his learning, he added a local knowledge of Rome and its environs, derived from a long residence there; and a most extraordinary insight into the spirit and genius of the ancient states. His native town of Ditmarsh had a civic constitution of great antiquity, formed (it may be presumed) on Roman principles; to which he often refers, as furnishing him with a serviceable clue. Having an extensive acquaintance with the modern Italian republics, as well as with all that is known of the state of ancient Italy and Greece, he had learned to look upon their history with the eye of Plato or Aristotle; not only seeing, as most of us may see, so many isolated facts in their institutions and revolutions, but understanding *how the machinery worked*. He saw the principle of analogy so to pervade the political as well as religious sentiments of the Roman and Greek world, as to be able often to divine in what quarter the solution of a difficulty was to be looked for. Aided by this analogy, or by local knowledge, his experienced eye would at once detect incongruity in hypotheses which were to others plausible, leading him confidently to reject as mere fable, or as poems made into history,\* large portions of the received account.

\* His criticism on the tales of Coriolanus and Kæso Quinctius, finely display his penetration and judgment. All this is now to be read far more agreeably in the pages of Dr. Arnold.



That history is often exaggerated into fable, is a fact so familiar, that the old historians were uniformly disposed to believe that *every* fable had a historical basis. In Dionysius, the evidence is entire and convincing, that the later Greeks and their Roman scholars, had occupied themselves in extracting history out of mythological tales which ought to have been rejected with contempt. Hence Niebuhr was led to suspect that *every thing* in the early Roman history which had a poetical air, was derived from some old poem as its original authority. He imagined that the poems of Ennius and the stories of Livy are not merely equally entitled to credit, (if the former were extant,) but that the latter are really *derived from* the former. He attempted then to separate Livy's narrative into two parts; the poetical and the historical; which, however, are blended together as different kinds of stone are in a conglomerate. Moreover, he believed himself able to prove that sometimes the same tale was told twice over by the same writer, both poetically and historically; in one or other case the chronology being at fault. He established likewise a fact, at first sight not very important, but which has thrown great light on the ancient accounts of the working of the Roman constitution, and has reconciled inconsistencies which were before bewildering: the fact, that the 'populus,' or people, in old law-latin meant only the enfranchised part of the community; which Livy did not know, even while using the word. Fanciful as all this may appear, he has succeeded in overbearing the prepossessions of the romantic, and the alarms of the cautious; so that his *main principles* have triumphantly established themselves in the University of Oxford; where twenty years ago they would have been looked on (had they been sufficiently known) as rash, crude, dangerous speculations, certain to end in unbelief of all ancient history, sacred and profane.

With such powers, such consciousness of success, and an imagination so enthusiastic, it can be no wonder if his very remarkable good sense has not saved him from numerous fancies, from unwarranted credulity and incredulity. But to criticise him is a perilous thing even to minds of great superiority. He himself uses towards us the *argumentum ad verecundiam* in so imposing a way, as almost to stop our mouths. He compares himself to an architect, who, on seeing a ruined building, is able to paint it afresh, knowing confidently from the remnants what it must primitively have been, while a common eye in vain looks for *proof* of it. Again, he is like the lover who gazed on dim vacuity in earnest longing for the face of his beloved, until her own true features shone through the mist, invisible to all but him. Again, he is like Bonnivard, who had so long groped in the dark of his prison, as to see small objects that escaped the gross sight of one accustomed to the strong light of day. And as a practical

comment on these high pretensions, the able writer whose work is before us, having in the first volume of his *Thucydides* spoken against certain views of Niebuhr's as too sceptical, in his third volume recanted and as it were did penance for his presumption, humbly confessing that he had not made enough allowance for the keenness of sight which long practice had given to Niebuhr, and for which he most justly claimed deference! The admiration and zeal professed by Dr. Arnold for his great master, is indeed almost the utmost that is compatible with retaining freedom of judgment himself.

‘Long before Niebuhr’s death I had formed the design of writing the history of Rome; not, it may well be believed, with the foolish notion of rivalling so great a man, but because it appeared to me that his work was not likely to become generally popular in England, and that its discoveries and remarkable wisdom might best be made known to English readers, by putting them into a form more adapted to our common taste. It should be remembered, that only the two first volumes of Niebuhr’s history were published in his lifetime; and although careful readers might have anticipated his powers of narration even from these, yet they were actually, by the necessity of the case, more full of dissertations than of narrative; and for that reason it seemed desirable to remould them for the English public, by assuming as proved many of those results which Niebuhr himself had been obliged to demonstrate step by step. But when Niebuhr died, and there was now no hope of seeing his great work completed in a manner worthy of its beginning, I was more desirous than ever of executing my original plan, of presenting in a more popular form what he had lived to finish, and of continuing it afterwards with such advantages as I had derived from a long study and an intense admiration of his example and model.

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‘No acknowledgment can be too ample for the benefits which I have derived from him: yet I have not followed him blindly, nor compiled my work from his. It seemed to be a worthier tribute to his greatness, to endeavour to follow his example; to imitate, so far as I could, his manner of inquiry; to observe and pursue his hints; to try to practise his master art of doubting rightly and believing rightly; and, as no man is infallible, to venture sometimes even to differ from his conclusions, if a compliance with his own principles of judgment seemed to require it. But I can truly say, that I never differ from him without a full consciousness of the probability that further inquiry might prove him to be right.’—Preface, pp. vii—x.

After this, what are we to say or do? To renounce entirely our private judgment, and acquiesce in Niebuhr’s, would be easiest; but we must agree with Dr. Arnold, that it is worthier to judge with our own minds, yet, if possible, with as much modesty and diffidence as the case demands.

Yet we must confess that, after long waiting for light, we have been unable to satisfy ourselves that Niebuhr's scepticism is not carried to an extreme. More jealousy than usual is pardonable on our parts, when it is remembered that it is not an isolated fact, but a principle, which is under debate: a precedent is to be set, which, if really established and approved, must of necessity be applied in other cases. This ought not to be allowed to bias our decision, but ought to stimulate us to close inspection; considering that we are not treating merely a few doubtful points about ancient Rome, but the general grounds upon which men are to judge of all ancient history. We can only give two specimens of the character of our objections. First, we will name Niebuhr's tendency to believe the names of individuals found in history to be mere 'personifications.' The Greeks invented Italus to be king of the Italians, Ænotrus to be king of the Ænotrians, Pelasgus of the Pelasgians, Ægyptus of the Ægyptians; and so on. *Therefore* (Niebuhr and his followers infer), it is not probable that any such individual as Hellen, father of the Hellenes, ever existed; nor Ion, father of the Ionians; nor Romulus (Remus, or Romus, varieties of the same word), king of Rome. We might add: nor Israel, father of the Israelites; nor Judah, father of the Jews; nor Moab, father of the Moabites, &c., &c. But (as is often said,) no one would forge bad coin, if good coin did not exist: the Greeks would not have so readily believed a Hellen, father of the Hellenes, and an Ion, father of the Ionians, unless it had been common in the ancient world for a tribe to be named after some great ancestor or chief. Ion [Javan] is named in the book of Genesis; and is no more, on the face of the matter, to be rejected, than Israel or Judah; or than Seljuk and Othman of more recent times. But again, Niebuhr and his successors sometimes call in question the personality of individuals without even so much reason as this. King Numa, in their view, is a poetic creation, intended to account for the existence of the oldest religious ceremonies, which were Sabine and Greek; his name being in Greek Νούμας, which may have been derived from νόμος, a law. May we not reply: that we have evidence for Numa's personal existence too strong to be thus set aside? A most singular story is recounted by Livy (xl. 29), that immediately bears on this subject. In the year 181 before Christ, two stone chests, about eight feet long and four wide, soldered down with lead, were dug up under the Janiculum. 'Each chest,' says the Author, 'had an inscription in Latin and Greek letters, declaring that *Numa Pompilius, son of Pompo, king of the Romans, was buried* in the one, and that in the other *were contained the books of Numa Pompilius.*' Both were opened; but that which had Numa's name on it proved empty; in the other were found two bundles, wrapt up in candles



[*'candelis involuti'*] and in each bundle seven books, not merely fresh, but quite new in appearance. Seven were in the Latin language, concerning the rights of the High Priesthood; seven were in Greek, upon philosophical subjects. Now what so curiously accredits the story, is, the behaviour of the city prætor, Quintus Petillius, to whom the books were lent by the owner. The prætor, having read them, declared that he must burn them for the good of the state. Appeal was made to the tribunes, and the matter finally came before the senate. The prætor professed his readiness to swear that it was against the interest of the state to allow the books to be read: upon which the senate decreed to remunerate the owner, and burn them publicly on the place of Assembly: which sentence was carried into effect.—It is impossible to resist the conviction that the books really contained religious regulations subversive of those then practised, and must therefore have come down from a time prior to the Tarquin dynasty. The time (181 B.C.) of the discovery is too late for us to call it a mere legend: and the name of Numa on the coffin is explicitly witnessed. Now, we ask, what is the exceeding improbability of a king Numa, with the character ascribed to him, having reigned at Rome; that can justify us in rejecting this unexpected confirmation of the received history? or what other species of evidence can be desired, than inscriptions on stone or brass, concerning the existence of such an individual? It appears to us that had such testimony to a king of Egypt *unknown* in history been found in a tomb at Thebes, it would have been looked on as decisive; and we may be allowed to suspect that if the mysterious coffins in the Janiculum had borne witness to a king Coelius or a king Mettius, who reigned once at Rome, Niebuhr would have seen in it a triumphant disproof of the common story. Again, king Porsenna is unceremoniously pushed out of existence by the able critic, on the sole ground that Porsenna is a name of a legendary Etrurian hero of great antiquity. There might be consistency in this if he considered the war of Porsenna to be a fiction. But as he believed that about that time an Etruscan army captured Rome and despoiled her of a third part of her territory; and this army must have had a general or king; why may not his name have been Porsenna? Are historical kings never named after legendary heroes? We might say more on the same aversion to individual characters, but we must not stay too long on this head. **SECONDLY:** With whatever cogency of argument Niebuhr has shown that poems were often made a basis for history by injudicious critics, he would never think of denying that true facts are often exaggerated into poetry. It therefore appears to us still open to criticism whether (for instance) the story (or, as he calls it, *'The Lay,'*) of the Tarquins has been derived from poems, or has been only elevated into

romance: since not one of the poems of which he talks so familiarly is mentioned by any ancient author to have existed at all. We know that the earliest Romans had national songs, and it is conjectured that the history *may* have had no foundation but in the songs: but to treat such a conjecture as a fact would be rash enough. Perhaps the truth is, that Niebuhr himself does not go so far as his principles and vague expressions seem to lead. His practical sagacity corrects in detail what he may have overstated in the general; but by his large assertions he produces an impression, beyond the fact, as though he were inordinately sceptical; an impression of which Dr. Arnold complains as unjust. The extensive powers which he claims as a critic, might be wielded with far less moderation by other hands, to the undermining of all historical faith soever concerning ancient times. Because a poetic coloring is mingled with a story, to infer that the story was founded on an old ballad, a funeral hymn, or an epitaph, appears to us most precipitate, when the very existence of such ballads or poems requires to be proved. We are tempted to speculate how the tale of the Persian invasion, as related by Herodotus, might be dealt with. It has 'a beginning;' the prologue or prelude at Marathon; 'a middle,' when Xerxes comes in person on the scene; and the plot reaches its height in the battles of Thermopylæ and Salamis; the 'end' is in the Bœotian campaign, and in the battle of Plataea. Poetical justice is consummated, when Mardonius, the adviser of the war, perishes there, as a victim to the manes of the myriads whose death he had caused. Numerous legends, oracles, and miracles, diversify and deepen the interest of the tale. This is but a hint: had we the imagination and acuteness of Niebuhr, we are disposed to believe that a strong case might be made to prove the Persian war to be 'a magnificent epopee.' But it is a great satisfaction to us to feel that as regards the history of Rome, it is on the unimportant circumstances, remote or isolated facts, that Niebuhr appears extravagant; while he directs the full energy of his enthusiasm and learning to rescue from darkness and suspicion transactions which other inquirers had abandoned in despair.

Niebuhr did not write a history; but his critical dissertations provided most valuable materials for one; in return for which it has been seen how anxious Dr. Arnold is to give him, were it possible, the whole credit of the history now coming forth. The volume before us is intended as the first of an extensive work, continued down to the year 800 A.D., when Charlemagne was crowned at Rome. A noble project! If the accomplished Author should finish two-thirds of his task, bringing his narrative down to Constantine the Great, he will deserve the richest thanks of all students. If he even bring it down to the Antonines, where Gibbon begins, it will be a complete and valuable whole.

His book has charms and solid excellencies rarely combined. The glow of feeling and healthy moral principle which animates all his narrative, vents itself in pure and vigorous language, enlivened by classical allusion and chaste fancy. Yet he writes as one who has come to the history with an eye so fresh from the spectacle of English manners and society, as to feel by instinct what things will be most strange, and what most obscure, to an Englishman; and is careful to open only little by little a state of things very different from our own. As the view enlarges and becomes more definite, it is often impressed strongly on the mind by some happy or ornamental illustration. There is nothing of that assumption of universal attainments in his reader which makes the writings of Niebuhr so disagreeable; but he uniformly addresses himself as if to one who combines a fair share of general intelligence with ignorance of the immediate subject. As a specimen of his manner we extract a passage:

‘Men love to complete what is imperfect, and to realize what is imaginary. The portraits of king Fergus and his successors in Holyrood palace were an attempt to give substance to the phantom names of the early Scotch story; those of the founders of the oldest colleges in the gallery of the Bodleian library betray the tendency to make much out of little, to labor after a full idea of those who are only known to us by one particular action of their lives. So it has fared with the early history of Rome: Romulus and Numa are like king Fergus; John of Balliol, and Walter of Merton, are the counterparts of Servius Tullius, and Brutus, and Poplicola. Their names were known, and their works were living; and men, longing to image them to their minds more completely, made up by invention for the want of knowledge, and composed in one case a pretended portrait, in the other a pretended history.

‘There have been hundreds, doubtless, who have looked on the portrait of John of Balliol, and, imposed upon by the name of portrait, and by its being the first in a series of pictures, of which the greater part were undoubtedly copied from the life, have never suspected that the painter knew no more of the real features of his subject than they did themselves. So it is that we are deceived by the early history of the Roman commonwealth. It wears the form of annals, it professes to mark accurately the events of successive years, and to distinguish them by the names of the successive consuls, and it begins a history, which going on with these same forms and pretensions to accuracy, becomes after a time in a very large proportion really accurate, and ends with being as authentic as any history in the world. Yet the earliest annals are as unreal as John of Balliol's portrait; there is in both cases the same deception.’—pp. 122, 123.

An air of reality is most successfully given by him to the whole history, which is the more remarkable when in immediate connexion with apparent scepticism. Having, like Niebuhr, visited



Rome and the vicinity for the express purpose, his local knowledge lends a great interest to his narrative. He seeks to help his readers to conceive as well as himself, how the hills ran and where the fortresses were placed. The city itself, with its older and its later walls, are carefully laid before us. To the physical peculiarities of the environs an entire chapter is devoted, in which is discussed the contrast of the phenomena presented there in ancient and in modern times. Even the tedious incursions of the *Æquians* and *Volscians*, (a perpetual nuisance in the common histories!) are here presented intelligibly and instructively. The condition of all the neighbouring countries is gradually opened as the history advances. The internal and strictly domestic history of the Romans, their religious and family customs, their union in equality or dependence, their modes of getting a livelihood, their trade, their laws, are so far set forth, as to make our conceptions more vivid. In exposing the tyrannies to which the plebeians were subject in these earlier ages of Rome, the Author gives full vent to his hatred of oppression, and unshrinkingly comments on the sources and machinery of aristocratical power; but while he stirs up the same indignation as he feels, against the abuses of political supremacy, he never forgets to praise moderation in redressing them. Our readers may be interested by a passage which exhibits in contrast the wisdom of certain enactments in the Mosaic law:

‘A population of free landowners naturally engages the imagination; but such a state of society requires either an ample territory, or an uninterrupted state of peace, if it be dependent on agriculture alone. The Roman territory might be marched through in a day; and after the overthrow of the powerful government of *Tarquinius*, which by the extent of its dominion kept war at a distance, the lands of the Roman commons were continually wasted by the incursions of their neighbours, and were actually to a large extent torn away by the *Etruscan* conquest. The burghers suffered less, because their resources were greater: the public undivided land, which they alone enjoyed, was of a very different extent from the little lots assigned to each commoner, and besides, as being chiefly left in pasture, it suffered much less from the incursions of an enemy; a burgher's cattle might often be driven off in time to one of the neighbouring strongholds, while a commoner's corn and fruit trees were totally destroyed. Again, if commerce were forbidden to a commoner, it certainly was not to a burgher; and those whose trade with *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Africa*, was sufficiently important to be made the subject of a special treaty, were not, like the commoners, wholly dependent on a favorable season, or on escaping the plundering incursions of the neighbouring people. Thus it is easy to conceive how on the one hand the commoner would be driven to borrow, and on the other how the burgher would be able to lend.

‘The next step is also plain. Interest was as yet wholly arbitrary;

and where so many were anxious to borrow, it was sure to be high. Thus again the commons became constantly more and more involved and distressed, while the burghers engrossed more and more all the wealth of the community.

Such a state of things the law of the Israelites had endeavoured by every means to prevent or to mitigate. If a small proprietor found himself ruined by a succession of unfavorable seasons, or by an inroad of the Philistines or Midianites, and was obliged to borrow of his richer neighbour, the law absolutely forbade his creditor to take any interest at all. If he were obliged to pledge his person for payment, he was not to serve his creditor without hope, for at the end of seven years at the farthest, he was restored to his freedom, and the whole of his debt cancelled. Or if he had pledged his land to his creditor, not only was the right secured to him and to his relations of redeeming it at any time, but even if not redeemed it was necessarily to return to him or to his heirs in the year of jubilee, that no Israelite might by any distress be degraded for ever from the rank of a freeman and a landowner. A far different fate awaited the plebeian landowner at Rome. When he found himself involved in a debt which he could not pay, his best resource was to sell himself to his creditor, on the condition that unless the debt were previously discharged, the creditor, at the expiration of a stated term, should enter into possession of his purchase. This was called, in the language of the Roman law, the entering into a *nexum*, and the person who had thus conditionally sold himself was said to be '*nexus*.' When the day came, the creditor claimed possession, and the magistrate awarded it; and the debtor, thus given over to his purchaser, *addictus*, passed with all that belonged to him into his power; and as the sons were considered their father's property, they also, unless previously emancipated, were included in the sale, and went into slavery together with their father. Or if a man, resolved not by his own act to sacrifice his own and his children's liberty, refused thus to sell himself, or, in the Roman language, to enter into a *nexum*, and determined to abide in his own person the consequences of his own debt, then he risked a fate still more fearful. If within thirty days after the justice of the claim had been allowed, he was unable to discharge it, his creditor might arrest him, and bring him before the court; if no one then offered to be his security, he was given over to his creditor, and kept by him in private custody, bound with a chain of fifteen pounds weight, and fed with a pound of corn daily. If he still could not, or would not, come to any terms with his creditor, he was thus confined during sixty days, and during this period was brought before the court in the *comitium*, on three successive market-days, and the amount of his debt declared, in order to see whether any one would yet come forward in his behalf. On the third market-day, if no friend appeared, he was either to be put to death, or sold as a slave into a foreign land beyond the Tiber; that is, into Etruria, where there was as yet no interchange of franchise with Rome, amidst a people of a different language. Or if there were several creditors, they might actually hew his body in pieces, and whether a creditor cut off a greater or smaller piece than in proportion to his debt, he incurred no penalty.'—pp. 133—137.

He afterwards illustrates the need of an Agrarian law at Rome, by a practice nearer home :

‘The burghers claimed the exclusive administration of what may be called the corporate property of the state. Those who are acquainted with the affairs of the colleges of the English Universities will recollect the somewhat similar practice there with regard to fines. Whatever benefits arise out of the *administration* of the college property belong exclusively to the ruling part of the society ; the fellows engross the fines to themselves, just as the burghers at Rome enjoyed the exclusive right of occupying the public lands. But the rents of college lands are divided in certain fixed proportions amongst the fellows and scholars, the *populus* and *plebs* of the society. And a law which should prohibit the practice of taking a fine on the renewal of a lease of college property, and should order the land to be let at its full value, in order to secure to the scholars their due share in all the benefits arising out of the college property, would give no bad idea of the nature and objects of an agrarian law at Rome.’—Note, p. 159.

With the following reflections he concludes his narrative of the struggle for the enactment of a code of fixed laws :

‘Such was the end of a contest which had lasted for ten years ; and all its circumstances, as well as its final issue, show the inherent strength of an aristocracy in possession of the government, and under what manifold disadvantages a popular party ordinarily contends against it. Nothing less than some extraordinary excitement can ever set on a level two parties so unequal ; wealth, power, knowledge, leisure, organization, the influence of birth, of rank, and of benefits, the love of quiet, the dread of exertion and of personal sacrifices, the instinctive clinging to what is old and familiar, and the indifference to abstract principles so characteristic of common minds in every rank of life ; all these causes render the triumph of a dominant aristocracy sure, unless some intolerable outrage, or some rare combination of favorable circumstances, exasperate or encourage the people to extraordinary efforts, and so give them a temporary superiority. Otherwise the aristocracy may yield what they will, and retain what they will ; if they are really good and wise, and give freely all that justice and reason require, then the lasting greatness and happiness of a country are best secured ; if they do much less than this, yielding something to the growing light of truth, but not frankly and fully following it, great good is still done, and great improvements effected ; but in the evil which was retained there are nursed the seeds of destruction, which falls at last upon them and on their country. The irritation of having reasonable demands refused provokes men to require what is unreasonable ; suspicion and jealousy are fostered beyond remedy ; and these passions, outliving the causes which excited them, render at last even the most complete concessions thankless ; and when experience has done its work with the aristocracy, and they are disposed to deal justly with their old adversaries, they are met in their turn with a



spirit of insolence and injustice, and a fresh train of evils is the consequence. So true is it that nations, like individuals, have their time of trial; and if this be wasted or misused, their future course is inevitably evil; and the efforts of some few good and wise citizens, like the occasional struggles of conscience in the mind of a single man when he has sinned beyond repentance, are powerless to avert their judgment.'—pp. 251, 252.

He thus describes the Greek tyrants:

'The Greeks had no abhorrence for kings: the descendant of a hero race, ruling over a people whom his fathers had ruled from time immemorial, was no subject of obloquy, either with the people, or with the philosophers. But a tyrant, a man of low or ordinary birth, who by force or fraud had seated himself on the necks of his countrymen, to gorge each prevailing passion of his nature at their cost, with no principle but the interest of his own power, such a man was regarded as a wild beast, that had broken into the fold of civilized society, and whom it was every one's right and duty by any means, or with any weapon, presently to destroy. Such mere monsters of selfishness, Christian Europe has rarely seen. If the claim to reign by 'the grace of God' has given an undue sanction to absolute power, yet it has diffused at the same time a sense of the responsibilities of power, such as the tyrants, and even the kings of the later age of Greece, never knew. The most unprincipled of modern sovereigns would yet have acknowledged, that he owed a duty to his people, for the discharge of which he was answerable to God; but the Greek tyrant regarded his subjects as the mere instruments of his own gratification; fortune, or his own superiority, had given him extraordinary means of indulging his favorite passions, and it would be folly to forego the opportunity. It is this total want of regard for his fellow-creatures, the utter sacrifice of their present and future improvement, for the sake of objects purely personal, which constitutes the guilt of Dionysius and his fellow tyrants. In such men all virtue was necessarily blighted; neither genius, nor courage, nor occasional signs of human feeling, could atone for the deliberate wickedness of their system of tyranny. Brave and able as Dionysius was, active, and temperate, and energetic, he left behind him no beneficial institutions; he degraded rather than improved the character of his countrymen; and he has therefore justly been branded with infamy, by the accordant voice of his own and of after ages; he will be known for ever as Dionysius the tyrant.'

—pp. 474, 475.

We must now advert to the remarkable method which the Author has pursued in regard to the early history; a method which has been censured by some as savouring of affectation, and by others as intended to bring the ancient Jewish Scriptures into contempt! Having determined on the attempt to separate the mere legends or story-tales from trustworthy history, he has written them in a simpler and older dialect of English, avoiding

every philosophical turn of thought or Latinized expression ; so that no reader can for a moment suppose that he is perusing modern history. Perhaps no way could have been chosen so effectual for his purpose : but, what amount of judgment or of reading must a critic have, who could mistake the imitation of childish or ancient narrative for a burlesque on the books of Moses ? The writer discriminates between two kinds of fiction found in the Roman narratives :

‘ But before we finally quit the poetical legends of the early Roman history, the last of them and not the least beautiful, that which relates to the fall of Veii, must find its place in this narrative. In the life of Camillus there meet two distinct kinds of fiction, equally remote from historical truth, but in all other respects most opposite to one another ; the one imaginative but honest, playing it is true with the facts of history, and converting them into a wholly different form, but addressing itself also to a different part of the mind ; not professing to impart exact knowledge, but to delight, to quicken, and to raise the perception of what is beautiful and noble : the other, tame and fraudulent, deliberately corrupting truth in order to minister to national or individual vanity, pretending to describe actual events, but substituting in the place of reality the representations of interested or servile falsehood. To the former of these classes belongs the legend of the fall of Veii ; to the latter the interpolation of the pretended victory of Camillus over the Gauls. The stories of the former kind, as innocent as they are delightful, I have thought it an irreverence to neglect : the fabrications of the latter sort, which are the peculiar disgrace of Roman history, it is best to pass over in total silence, that they may if possible be consigned to perpetual oblivion.’

—pp. 393, 394.

Only with great diffidence could we venture to express a judgment of our own against Dr. Arnold's ; nor in fact do we find occasion to *oppose* his characteristic views in any respect. But we do somewhat complain that he has not given us more help in discriminating trustworthy points in the most ancient history. He leaves us in entire uncertainty whether he believes the personal existence of the first three kings. Even the story of the last three, he alludes to as a ‘mere fantasy :’ he says, we are ‘still on enchanted ground.’ Now, the only reasons assigned for these strong assertions, are drawn from difficulties in chronology and uncertainties concerning family relationships. We do not ‘*even* know,’ says he, whether Servius Tullius was a Latin ; or was an Etruscan, and his true name Mastarna. With deference to the learned Author we would suggest, whether these considerations, so important to English history, are of weight in the present case. Rome was peopled by Latins, Sabines, and in part by Etruscans. Its kings were not only elective, and of all three races, but in two instances at least, are stated to have been

foreigners. Dionysius absurdly represents Tullus Hostilius arguing like a modern philosopher, yet with much force, that the greatness of Rome has sprung from the same cause as that of Athens. These two states, braving the reproach which in ancient days was so stinging,—of being a mongrel people,—received from all the neighboring cities chieftains of the worsted factions, and became a general asylum: whence the legend, of Romulus receiving outlaws and criminals. The kings of Athens are of numerous races. In such a state of society, nothing is less important than the lineage of a chieftain. How many followers he can muster, what amount of wealth he can command, what is his prowess in war, his sagacity in debate; these are matters that swallow up all beside. If Servius did what the tale ascribes to him; his favoring the Plebeian body, which was chiefly Latin, may have led some to suppose him to be a Latin; while the support of his power by Etruscan troops may have led others to regard him as an Etruscan. We are therefore unable to doubt the historical character of events in his reign, on the ground that his lineage is doubtful.

Another circumstance is also to be considered. The earliest history of Rome was based mainly upon inscriptions long preserved, in wood, brass, and stone: chiefly laws and treaties, besides epitaphs and temple archives. It has been eked out by the help of less trustworthy authorities; and frequently by legends. The very nature of the case, therefore, makes the history *fragmentary*; and the chronology perhaps mere guesswork. Of one king we know certainly only that his name was Numa, that he studied Greek philosophy, and bore the principal part in introducing a fixed religious ceremonial at Rome. This is meagre enough: perhaps unimportant: but not therefore to be set aside as unhistorical. Of another we know, that he brought in a great reform of the constitution: are we to say, that he is a fairy character, because we cannot tell how old his wife was, or are puzzled about the marriages of his daughters? The violent incredulity\* with which all Niebuhr's school regard the story, that the Etruscan prince Tarquinius was of Corinthian origin, is again a thing which we do not understand. It has in itself nothing improbable; but it is too *isolated* a fact for them; it has no effect on the history; and it is

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\* They prove that it is a mere legend, by the addition which some make that 'Demaratus was accompanied by *Eucheir* and *Eugrammus*.' According to this, if a future Tahitian should report to his contemporaries that a missionary visited the island accompanied by *Mr. Carpenter* and *Mr. Painter* the whole story would deserve to be exploded as an allegory. What is commoner with foreigners than to mistake the name of a profession for that of an individual? Tarquin himself was called at Rome, 'Lucumo'; just as a rich Englishman in a French town is *Milord*.



not easy to make Demaratus and Cypselus synchronize. The isolation, however, of the story would seem rather to accredit it to us; as there was no conceivable temptation to invent it. And in this respect, we think that one of Beaufort's avowed fundamental principles is highly objectionable; 'to admit no facts, the connexion of which with others cannot be traced.' This is severe dealing, even when ample sources of information are open; but we think quite irrational, when notoriously we have but fragments. Concerning the constitution of Servius Tullius, Dr. Arnold has a statement, the tendency of which is most powerfully to show that the minute account of his regulations transmitted to us is strictly historical. He says: p. 77. 'Whenever we find [in later times] any details given of the proceedings of the comitia or of the construction of the army, we perceive a state of things very different from that described by the constitution of Servius. Hence have arisen the difficulties connected with it.' Now it is evident that an after inventor would not thus have wantonly deviated from the modern in describing the ancient parliament; or had he done so, he would have taken care to describe an after revolution and the coming in of the new system. Moreover, many things in the political position and conduct of Servius which in Beaufort's time were unintelligible, have now become plain, since Niebuhr has discovered what is meant by the 'populus.' Indeed, Dr. Arnold himself does fully believe that this constitution has been faithfully reported to us: he even descends to discuss its minutest details; not all of which were intelligible even to the Romans. Now as this account evidently could not have been preserved except by writing, why are we to treat the other reported facts with as little ceremony as though they belonged to a period in which writing was unknown? 'Servius Tullius,' says our author, 'is scarcely a more historical personage than king Arthur.' If this mean, merely that we know nothing of his private life, and that the story of his two daughters is uncertain, it is a scepticism that need frighten no one. Perhaps Cicero believed no more about the wicked Tullia, than does Dr. Arnold. And yet the latter seems to wish to persuade people that his scepticism is far beyond that of sensible men in past ages.

We could have desired also to see a broader line drawn between that imaginary character, Romulus, and the other kings. The personality of Romulus may well be disputed upon grounds peculiar to his case. We do not know one circumstance concerning him that can pretend to be attested. The tale of him is of manifest Greek origin, and nearly harmonises with one that is told of Cyrus the Great. His very name, as that of his brother (Romus and Romulus, as Dionysius calls them), is enough to excite suspicion; but, indeed, no one can read that learned antiquarian's labored ac-

cumulation \* of accounts concerning him, without seeing that even if he existed, the time is uncertain to 400 years; and no one fact is known about him, not even whether he was the founder of Rome. There is no confusion of this sort in the accounts concerning his successors. Of every one of them some monument remained, or some special deed was attested, sufficient to identify them. Of Numa the stone coffin was found with his name inscribed: nor is there any variation in the accounts of his origin and character, nor of the nature of his legislation and reign. Tullus destroyed Alba Longa, and carried its people to Rome. Ancus built the port of Ostia. Tarquin the Elder brought in the Etruscan ceremonies, strongly contrasted by their gorgeousness to the simple rites of Numa: he founded the magnificent temple of Capitoline Jupiter, and constructed the stupendous drain. Servius was the author of the national parliament. The second Tarquin subverted the constitution and established a despotism. But of Romulus, all that appears is, that every thing was attributed to him which had no other known author. Tradition is generally more disposed to amplify received tales, and adapt current stories to the names of persons previously familiar, than actually to invent the characters: the only sort of personification to which the Greeks and Romans seem to have been addicted (beside that of divinities), was directed to supply themselves with founders for their cities. As in later times every church needed some apostle or saint for its founder, so did the ancient cities need some hero, who of course was also worshipped as a god; and such was the Quirinus of the Romans.

Yet we think it is not unworthy of being dwelt on; that the common tales represent two kings at once at Rome, Romulus and Tatius, a Roman and a Sabine. These Sabines come from Cures, or Quires, and the story says, that from them the Romans were called Quirites. Moreover, Romulus finally turns into

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\* He says, 'that there is a great dispute both concerning the founders of Rome, and the æra. The Greek accounts say; first, Æneas had four sons, Ascanius, Euryleon, Romulus and Romus; secondly, Æneas and Ulysses founded the city, and called it Roma from a Trojan damsel; thirdly, Romulus and Romus were sons of king Latinus by this same maiden Roma; fourthly, Ulysses and Circe had three sons, Romus, Antias, and Ardeas, founders of Rome, Antium, and Ardea; fifthly, Romus was son of Ascanius, son of Æneas; sixthly, Romus was son of Italus, and his mother was daughter of Latinus. *Many other accounts he omits for brevity. He proceeds: 'The Romans have not a single ancient historian or annalist, but they all [in later days] have compiled their narratives from ancient inscriptions preserved in sacred tablets.'* But what follows, shows that the tablets here failed them. First, some say that Romus and Romulus were sons of Æneas; secondly, others that they were grandsons; thirdly, some teach that an old city, Rome, existed before the times of Æneas, which is the account of Antiochus the Syracusan, a very ancient writer, on whose authority Dionysius always lays peculiar stress; lastly comes the common story about Amulius and Numitor.

Quirinus. All this appears like the vague remains of a tradition, that Rome in her earliest days was governed by *two* kings; as was Sparta, to whose system that of Rome is so often compared by the Greeks: but that at this time a change took place by which the double city on the Palatine and Capitoline Hills was joined into one, to be governed henceforward by one king, elected from Romans and Quirites alternately. At the revolution which expelled the second Tarquin, the memory of two kings who once ruled jointly, may have had its influence, among a people so attached to precedent, in reconciling them to two consuls.

That in very early times a Greek city, probably called Rome, stood on the Palatine Hill, appears to us to be proved against Beaufort by arguments far more convincing than are generally to be expected in such antiquity. It is testified: first, by the uniform agreement of traditions which in all their variety point to this fact. Evander was from Arcadia; Romus was a descendant either of Æneas, or of a Trojan maid, or of Ulysses, or of Achæans, returning from Troy. Secondly, by the reverence of the Romans for the Greek religion, as for something old and peculiarly awful. The Lupercalia, established (as was believed) by Evander, was declared by Dionysius to have been identical in his day with the rites of the Arcadian Pan. Hercules was worshipped at the Greatest Altar with Greek rites, preserved by the hereditary priesthood of the Potitii and Pinarii; an institution itself more Greek than Roman, and ascribed also to Evander. Of the books found in one of Numa's chests, one parcel was Greek. The Sibylline books were notoriously in Greek; what could prompt a people so jealous for antiquity in religious rites, to afford them such respect? As early as the first Brutus, the legend represents Delphi as the ultimate resort of the Romans when in want of counsel. Such reasonings convince us that a Greek city was the nucleus of Rome, far more than any philological remarks on the Latin language, which all lie open to numerous objections.

But to conclude, we desire to recommend this profound, powerfully written and luminous work to all who have interest in historical research, and who will take the pains to read it with a good map by their side. To superficial readers and indolent minds its anxious search after accuracy may be unpleasing; but no diligent student will call it heavy, relieved as it is by noble sentiments, an excursive genius, a perspicuous and charming style.



Art. IV. *Reminiscences of South America ; from two-and-a-half Years' Residence in Venezuela.* By JOHN HAWKSHAW, F.G.S. London: Jackson and Walford.

IT is an interesting relief to turn from the majority of modern travels to such a volume as the one now before us. The author enters on his narrative with an unassuming air, and is evidently more concerned to supply his readers with information than to exhibit his own skill or good fortune. With the materials which he has compressed into the narrowest possible compass, our summer travellers would easily have manufactured two or three volumes of fashionable size and price. The country described is new to most Englishmen, and the details furnished are alike befitting the good sense of the narrator and the wants of an intelligent public. Little is yet known of South America, and the unsettled state of its recently established republics has produced among our countrymen a distrust of the hopes formerly entertained. We cannot better express our sense of the value of Mr. Hawkshaw's little volume, than by transferring some of its details to our pages, and to this we shall proceed, without further preface.

Our author left England in July, 1832, for the purpose of proceeding to the copper mines of Aroa, the operations of which he had undertaken to conduct. In his voyage he touched at Barbadoes, the most northerly of the West Indian islands, and spent a day at Bridgetown, whence he sailed for La Guayra, in the mail-boat. In this second trip, he narrowly escaped a watery grave. The captain was a young Irishman brought up in the East India service, 'who found his way from one island to another he knew not how.' His gross ignorance of nautical science endangered the lives of all who sailed with him, and exposed them on the present occasion to severe inconveniences. Not meeting with the landmarks on which he had calculated, he became bewildered, and being warned of his proximity to danger by the hollow roar of breakers, he rode at anchor during the night, his only cable being 'as ragged as if the rats had been making nests in it.' In the morning a town was descried, which the captain concluded to be La Guayra, but on proceeding thither he had the mortification to discover that it was Puerto Cabella, a hundred miles to leeward of the port he had been seeking. Such was the seamanship of the captain of the mail-boat. At length they neared the desired haven, and the first impression of the coast senery is thus described.

'I was approaching a land which was associated with the names of Columbus and of Humboldt, of Pizarro and of Cortes. But these were

not associations equally pleasing. The two first were connected with every thing that is lofty in science, and great in purpose, and benevolent in principle; the latter were before me, but it was in connexion with the bloodhound and the sword.

‘When we first got near enough to have a distinct view of the coast, never shall I forget the impression that it made upon me. It has been called the New World; but the term is only applicable so far as it has reference to the knowledge which we have had of it. The lofty Cordillera which belts the shore, seemed to rise almost perpendicularly out of the ocean, covered by a thin and russet herbage, which softened, but did not hide the rocky and gigantic nucleus beneath. Its aspect was ridgy, mountainous, and bold, even to magnificence; and it was rendered still more sublime by the white and silvery clouds which rested half way up the shaggy mountains, in perfect stillness and repose. The haunts of men were not amid the scene; the voice of man did not disturb the silence. It seemed unfitted by the gigantic scale of its features for his residence; he might have stood in the shadow of its shrubs; he would be lost amid the solitude of its forests. Contrasting its appearance with some of the newer and flatter continents of Europe, it struck me that it was they which should be called the New World; the offshoot of this loftier continent; the mud-banks formed from its debris and decay.’—pp. 18, 19.

La Guayra is represented as situated on a narrow strip of land, scarcely more than 200 yards wide, with an almost perpendicular cliff at its back. Its population in 1833 was between 5000 and 6000, having been diminished by an earthquake. Mr. Hawkshaw did not remain here long, but proceeded to Caraccas on a mule.

‘The ride between La Guayra and Caraccas is calculated to make a lasting impression upon a person ushered for the first time upon the stage of South American scenery and South American manners. He steps from a vessel which has probably conveyed him from some English fire-side, from a land of conveniences and comforts—of smooth turnpike roads and fast coaches—of shawled and knee-capped coachmen, whose faces glow beneath their broad-brimmed hats like setting suns; and after scrambling over or through the surf, on the shoulders perhaps of some tall and naked negro, his feet touch the shore, and a few steps carry him to the foot of a narrow and winding road, like a staircase, which is to convey him over mountains several thousand feet high, to the capital of the country he is visiting; and which, in reality, is one of the greatest highways to that capital. On his route he is occasionally overtaken and passed by muscular and finely-built caleteros, almost entirely naked, who ascend the mountain-road with a load of fish that would astonish even an English porter, and whose naked bodies are shining in the sun with the perspiration that oozes from every pore.

‘Then, perhaps, after proceeding a little further, he is nearly run down by a troop of jackasses, descending as he ascends, and rushing

down the hill, followed only by the arriero who attends them, at a speed which makes the stranger tremble, if not for the necks of the asses, at least for that of the rider, who, perched on an hamugo, or pack-saddle, swings his naked legs about as though every thing depended upon his body being kept in a state of oscillation, and who screams and hollows a sort of wild air, as though he conceived republican liberty and freedom essentially to consist in singing at the top of his voice to the wild solitudes around him.

‘ The road in the steeper parts, to render it less abrupt, has a zigzag direction, by which the length is considerably increased. It is paved in these places, and has gutters running obliquely across every five or six yards, to carry off the water, which, in its downward course in heavy rains, would otherwise soon acquire momentum and velocity sufficient to tear up the road.

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‘ On the La Guayra side of the mountain I was favoured with one or two prospects of great beauty and magnificence. After ascending some thousands of feet almost perpendicularly, the spectator seems to be looking out over the sea from hanging gardens. Peering through a lattice-work of leaves and flowers—crimson, blue, and yellow,—he looks down, through a veil of clouds that hangs below, on the roadstead of La Guayra. The curious effects of the mirage invest these scenes with the most singular and often with the most beautiful appearances. The spectator seems suspended in the air ; beneath him is a sea of clouds that move majestically along, and from time to time he catches a glimpse of the ocean, like a glassy mirror beneath, hanging in a variety of positions ; for it is one of the effects of the mirage to destroy, occasionally, the horizontal appearance of the ocean when viewed from this height.’—pp. 29—31.

Our author supplies some interesting information respecting the slave code of Venezuela, and contrasts greatly to the advantage of the former, the conduct of the young and unsettled republics of southern America with that of the northern states. We can make room only for the following quotation on this point.

‘ ‘ Art. 9. The introduction of slaves, in whatsoever manner it may be made, is prohibited. Also, no person shall bring more than one as a domestic servant, and that one shall not be naturalized as such in the country ; and at his arrival at the ports of Venezuela, the person introducing him shall enter into an obligation to re-export him, for which he shall be bound in proper securities. If the person who brings the slave, settles in the country, he shall still be bound to export him, or to give him his freedom. Slaves introduced by fraud, or against the prohibition of this law, *shall by that act be made free.*

‘ ‘ Art. 10. A fund shall be published for the annual emancipation of slaves, composed, first, of two per cent. on the whole property of those who die leaving only collateral heirs ; secondly, ten per cent. of the whole property of those who die leaving heirs who are foreigners ; thirdly,



the nett property of all those dying intestate, and not leaving lineal heirs, who by law ought to succeed them, which shall be administered to by the exchequer; and fourthly, the gifts and legacies of persons well disposed to this benevolent design, whose names will be published in the state annual of the district.

'The law then proceeds to enact, that each year a number of slaves shall be emancipated, equal to the maximum number which had been emancipated by the previous law. And that in case the fund to be provided in manner afore-mentioned, be insufficient, the deficiency is to be made up from the public treasury. The slaves to be emancipated are chosen by a committee, appointed in each district; and every year the law enacts that the names of the slaves emancipated shall be published, also the amount of the emancipation fund in the preceding year, and lastly the sum added from the public treasury.

'As this law had been in force some years, it may not be uninteresting to know, that as far as my experience went, I could not ascertain that it had worked ill for the masters. Of course it had tended to limit the number of slaves, and in some cases, to interfere a good deal with the progress of cultivation; and on this account there is more merit to be ascribed to the Venezuelan government, in adopting measures so enlightened.'—pp. 49, 50.

The botanist and the zoologist will meet with much interesting information in Mr. Hawkshaw's volume, and the student of human nature, under the various phases it assumes, will not turn from his pages uninstructed. Speaking of the Valley of the Tocuyo, he says:

'The zoologist also might have resided there to advantage. After sunset, in the upper parts of the valley and around the mines, swarms of bats made their appearance; no place was free from them; they entered the houses, and if the candle escaped being put out by the fanning of their wings, it was only to be flapped out by some large painted moth, which, attracted by the light, followed close after them. So numerous were the bats, that in the morning our horses' backs were often found streaming with blood, from the phlebotomy of these blood-suckers. And in entering the old workings of the mines, a whole swarm of them would rush past the candle, in all probability putting it out before they made their escape.

'If a sugar-basin were placed upon the table,—though, as I have frequently noticed, not one would have been seen before,—in two or three minutes long strings of ants would make their appearance, all wending their way towards one common centre, viz. the sugar-basin. Some small and diminutive scout, posted I suppose to watch, though no one knows where, had conveyed the intelligence, and forthwith whole legions sallied out. At certain times of the year there is a small species of ant that acquires wings, when they become still more troublesome; for, in their new character, their accustomed sagacity and prudence seem to forsake them, and they fly into the candles, until

they extinguish them by their dead bodies, while all below is covered with the killed, maimed, and wounded.

'The bichaco, a large red ant, which congregates in immense numbers, is very formidable. If, in the course of its emigrations, it should meet with a stable, as it passes through that stable, (for it never deviates from its course,) every thing must be off; the rats and the serpents forsake the roof; and the horses, unless they are let loose, break their fastenings and decamp. I happened at one time to ride under a low tree, which was covered with these creatures; and, as I was riding fast, I did not perceive them as I rushed through its foliage. In a moment or two I was astonished by the violent plunging of my horse, and immediately after by something biting through my linen trowsers. It was with great difficulty I pacified the animal, until the furious little creatures were dislodged from his skin. Though they are celebrated as strategists, yet these little insects, when disturbed, fall immediately to work wherever they may alight, pell-mell, fighting and biting, without any regard to arrangement or order, and without any of the slackness of fear; each individual using its jaws, as though it considered itself capable alone and single-handed of both killing and eating a horse.

'A numerous colony of this kind of ant had established itself in the midst of a large piece of land intended for the growth of maize: the seed was sown, and in a day or two it was all carried off. Another attempt was made, and again the maize disappeared; and in spite of all that could be done, by attacking their large hillocks, often several yards broad, with shovels and spades, they still kept possession of their strongholds. Like *Herculaneum* or *Pompeii* in their present state, their city was far below the surface; and as if the hint had been taken from *Hercules* at the *Augean* stables, they were only conquered at last by turning the river over their haunts, which was done by damming it below.

'This species of ant consumes a large quantity of leaves in the construction of its nest; and in the woods I have frequently passed long columns of them, eight or nine inches broad, following each other in thick array, and extending many hundred yards in length. Each had a piece of leaf, cut to a circular shape at the top, hoisted over its head; and hid beneath the green leaves, they presented a most curious appearance, as if a whole regiment of small leaves had been enabled to stand erect and to walk off by themselves. A number of their fellows, winding through the ranks, were returning empty-handed to where the leaves were clipped, and evidently at full speed. Occasionally they stopped for a moment, to help up some unlucky wight who had tumbled down from the top of some root not an inch high, or to lend a hand to help another brother, whose leaf had become transfixed by a sharp spine, and who was tugging away with all his might to get it off again.

'Another species of this insect, called the *comien*, of small size, having a white body and black head, was much more destructive in its ravages. In the house or out of doors, in the mines or in the stores, it was equally dreaded. Possessing an extraordinary appetite for wood,

it eats fallen trees by the hundred. Once established in a wooden-bridge, and a mine of gunpowder could not destroy it more effectually. Once having made its way to the timbering of the mines, nothing could be more certain in bringing the roof about their heads. In the warehouses of the merchant, this ant, if it once obtains an entrance, is very destructive. Should it happen to get in by the floor, and after eating its way through the boards to find itself stopped by a bale of goods, it begins forthwith to eat directly upwards; and though half a dozen bales should be piled one upon another, it eventually appears at the top of the uppermost.'—pp. 119—123.

The country abounds with reptiles, of which the Author has presented several specimens to the Manchester Natural History Society. The following is his account of them.

'Among the most venomous were the rattle-snake and the mapinaro, a species of black viper. The bite of this latter reptile caused almost instant death to animals; it sometimes proved fatal to men. The poison certainly seemed to act with greater rapidity when mules or horses were bitten than when men were the sufferers; and I know no other way of accounting for this, than by supposing that men, being aware of the danger, generally gave less time for the fangs of the reptile to enter; for it is easy to suppose that the individual would skip away as quickly as possible; while, on the other hand, the horse or mule, not aware of the deadly nature of the bite, would afford more time for the fatal poison to distil from the fangs into the wound. Men, as well as animals, are generally bitten about the leg; and mostly in consequence of having stepped upon the serpent.

'In Venezuela there are persons who pretend to be inoculated, and who will also undertake to inoculate others against the venom, and who profess to cure the bite of serpents. I have seen these men with small serpents in their hands, but never with any that I knew to be of a venomous kind. During my residence in Venezuela, two or three of the English workmen were bitten, and they certainly derived considerable benefit from the medicine administered by these men; but I never knew that any of these cases were of a decidedly dangerous character, or from bites of the rattle-snake or mapinaro. More than one of the natives died from the bite of the latter in a short time. It was found in great numbers, but the rattle-snake was rarely met with.

'One day, while standing by some men who were pulling down an old wooden bridge, under a piece of timber that had just been raised from the ground, I perceived a large scorpion. Wishing to capture it, as I had never had an opportunity of inspecting one, I got a piece of string, and was endeavouring to slip a noose over its head or tail, when one of these inoculated persons came up. He laughed to see three or four grown persons all manœuvring about so small an affair, and immediately took the scorpion in his hand; and after letting it run about once or twice over his hand, he held its tail until I tied the string to it. The sting of the scorpion, though not deadly, is still highly painful, and produces much inflammation; some of our men who had been stung



by much smaller ones than this, suffered exceedingly ; and I can account for the circumstance just narrated in no other way than by supposing that the ceremony of inoculation gives boldness, and that generally these creatures do not bite or sting unless hurt, for it appeared to me that the man took care not to handle the creature with roughness. Four young scorpions were fastened to the back of this one, which appeared full grown. The young ones were very small, and I imagine they are carried about in this way, on the back of the parent, until able to shift for themselves.

‘The boa constrictor was sometimes met with ; and one day one was lassoed near the mines, and thereupon hung, just after having swallowed a kid. It was about fifteen feet long. There was also a beautiful green serpent, which kept about the trees, and was often in the branches, and seemed very well adapted to surprise small birds, in its sharp-shooter’s uniform. Another, of a bright yellow colour, frequented the edges of pools and marshes, and preyed upon the large bull-frogs which abounded in those situations. This species was about five or six feet long, the one in green rather shorter. Another very beautiful variety was called the coral snake ; it was of a fine red colour, with small piercing eyes, that glittered like rubies : it is not generally more than three feet in length, but extremely fierce. One day I struck at one, which I wished to capture, with a stick ; not killing it at the first blow, the enraged little reptile immediately turned round and darted towards me, its small eyes looking like sparks of living coal. I instantly commenced a retreat, still, however, confronting the enemy ; and by superior generalship and a few more cuts with the stick, I killed my adversary and carried him off.

‘Another variety, called the whip snake, from its resemblance to the lash of a whip, was, from the brittleness of its body, very difficult to procure. If struck at with a stick, however small, the reptile was immediately divided into two parts, each part moving off with considerable alacrity. It was generally about four feet long, of a very slim and elegant shape. The bejuca snake, another variety, about the same length, was so called from its resemblance to the stem of the climbing plant, so designated.’—pp. 127—130.

Alligators and sharks also abound, but we leave these gentry to notice our Author’s account of the religious condition of the people. Speaking of Caraccas, the seat of government, he tells us that Catholicism is in a very languishing state ; the revenues of the church have been seized by the civil power, and with diminished wealth, the influence of the clergy has declined.

‘In this city,’ he says, ‘Catholicism still occasionally ventures on something like display ; and an image of the Virgin on particular occasions is carried through the streets attended by long processions. But it is evident, everywhere, that papacy has lost her hold on the affections of the people. Independently of the question of tenets, what other effect could result from ages of ungodliness in its ministers ? What lasting respect was to be instilled into the bosoms of a people, for a religion, the fundamental meaning of which its teachers openly

contemned? Who were to believe its doctrines, when its inculcators gave the plainest evidence that they believed them not? Who were to carry out its essential requirements, when they who were to enforce them, invited by their own practice to the contrary? How was godliness to be taught by them who knew not godliness; and in what shape or manner was a reverence to be inspired for that, which in the hands of these false professors had become hollow and meaningless? Celibacy was preached by men who had kept mistresses and large families; and absolution was given to others, by priests who of all persons stood in the greatest need of a cleansing process themselves. The consequence had been, that the wares of the church of Rome were almost without a market; or if they at all met with purchasers, it could only be at the very lowest price. Those who had the sole authority to vend them, made open exhibition of the little value they were of in their own eyes; and, consequently, that which was held in little esteem by the parties who had to dispose of it, was rejected by the parties to whom it was offered for sale.

‘In Venezuela, generally, Catholicism is held in low estimation, but not because it has been superseded by any purer faith. It would be a consolation if this were the case. They are tired of what was their national religion, simply because their hearts had never been reached by its principles, or rather by what ought to have been its principles. They were found a wild and uncultivated people; and the price they had to pay for being taught to make the sign of the cross, was an exorbitant one—they had to give their country. For ages they were continued an unenlightened and ignorant race, purchasing each Ave Maria and Pater-noster they were taught by rote, with severe and killing labor, on roads, in mines, and in chains; and now those who escape destruction by this strange process of tuition, having become mixed and blended with their whiter task-masters, remain still, comparatively, an uninstructed people; and it ought not to be matter of surprise, that they should put a low value upon that which ages of experience had shown them to be worth but little.

‘There is scarcely any observance of the Sabbath in the interior of the country, in small villages or in the woody districts, where the inhabitants are scattered. It is not much better in the larger towns, though amongst a few some formalities are observed. In Caraccas there are two masses before noon, one early in the morning: the chief attendants are females and old men. The ladies of the place are seen passing, in small parties of two or three, through the streets, their heads covered only by long black veils. They are generally followed by servants, carrying embroidered mats, on which they kneel. I have occasionally gone into the churches when mass was performing, and never saw more than forty or fifty persons assembled. The congregation was kneeling on the floor, there being no seats or partitions in their churches. The mass was performed in the same way as I have seen it on the continent, but with less of splendour. There were evident signs of decreased revenues about every thing that was done. In the afternoon the inhabitants go to the bull-fight, and in the evening to the theatre.’—pp. 150—153.

The following sketch of General Paez who has acted so distinguished a part in the revolutions of his country, will be read with interest.

Paez, who is considered a man of good sound sense, as well as amazing energy of character, is still very much attached to the customs of the plains, and not unfrequently, when on his own estates away from Caraccas, gives dinners in the llanero fashion. Like all llaneros, he is a first-rate horseman. An anecdote that was related to me when in South America, is illustrative of the determination of his character. Towards the conclusion of the struggle for independence, Bolivar and a considerable number of the republican officers, amongst whom was Paez, were dining together. I have heard it observed, by several who resided in Venezuela about the time of the revolutionary war, that there was little doubt but that, at one time, Bolivar seemed disposed to assume sovereign power. If it were so, as regards Bolivar himself, I can only think that he contemplated such an act from the conscientious belief that such a form of government might be fittest for a people unenlightened and disorganized as the Venezuelans then were. From the immense sacrifice of property and of peace and of wealth, and even of life itself, (for there can be little doubt that he died from the incessant fatigue and anxiety of spirit which he had undergone,) we ought, I think, to conclude that Bolivar's intentions were honest, whatever might be the motives of some of his advisers to such a step. There was, however, a party who wished it, and at the dinner in question, after the glass had circulated rather freely, in course of speechifying some of this party hinted their opinion on this subject. Paez arose almost immediately, and alluding to the observations that had been made, drew a dagger from his side, and stated emphatically, that if he for a moment conceived that any person sitting at that table contemplated assuming the crown of that country, for the liberties of which they were all fighting, he would strike that knife to his heart as he then struck it into the table; and he accompanied his words by the action to which he alluded, and struck the knife deep into the table at which they were seated.

Since Paez has been president, he has given evidence, I think, that this was no idle boast. At all events it would not, in my opinion, have been difficult for him to have grasped much greater powers than those delegated to him. The soldiers were fond of him, for he had made himself one of them; he shared their severest fatigue, he was always foremost in danger—he was the last to retreat. But, notwithstanding these qualities, he seems to have valued peace, and done his utmost to perpetuate it; and in the disturbances that have lately occurred, to restore it. And as he had the power of making war, so he has been enabled to enforce peace; for I believe it was principally through his instrumentality that tranquillity has been again restored in so short a period. There is, I think, much praise due to him. Had he been imbued with the restless ambition and egregious vanity of the madman who figured in this century nearer home, his country might now have been a despotism plunged in endless and in-



terminable war. Paez, when a soldier, fought with a gusto few men have exemplified. When made president, his lance and his sword were quietly allowed to rust in their places, and he set himself to cultivate the arts of peace. The term of his presidentship expired, and he went back to the cultivation of his haciendas, only to rush out again, when the peace of his country was threatened by lawless and dissatisfied men : and again to go back to his pastoral life, when these disturbances were quelled. To me, I must confess, there is not a little to admire in the character of this man ; an admiration that ought to be paid to all who, possessing great powers, exert those powers in maintaining the tranquillity of their country.'—pp. 154—157.

We can make room only for one more extract, which we take from the character and habits of the natives.

‘Nothing could be simpler than the houses of the natives who lived in the wild and woody districts. The materials for building are all obtained from the forest, and every man builds his own house. The framework, or skeleton, is formed of poles, cut close at hand ; these are let into the ground by sinking round holes, which are afterwards rammed in. Still smaller poles are lashed across the top of these for rafters. Wild cane, or the bamboo, split into shreds, is then tied transversely across the rafters, and the whole is thatched with the leaves of the fan palm. The sides of the building are then closed in by tying similar shreds of bamboo, or wild cane, across from pole to pole, so as to form a sort of basket-work ; afterwards it is either plastered over on the outside with a mixture of earth, clay, and grass, or, if intended to be more permanent, it is lined within, as well as covered without, with this lattice-work and plastering : or it is boarded with narrow plank, formed by splitting the rind of the cabbage palm. If it be a place intended only for temporary purposes, then the walls, as well as the roof, are merely thatched with palm leaves, or a species of rush. One or two low rough seats, or stools, a coarse earthen jar or two, a number of tortumas (calabashes) in the shape of basins and bottles, made from a kind of gourd which grows in the forest, nearly complete the furniture of these domiciles. A small cotton hammock or two are suspended across the room, and serve as sofa, settee, and couch ; two or three long knives are stuck about the wall, an axe and a machette laid on the floor, and perhaps, an ugly coarse Birmingham musket, reared in one corner.

‘For cooking purposes, a fire is made upon the ground, under a small shed, erected at a little distance. And it is under this shed that the females of the family spend a considerable part of the day, squatted on the ground, apparently doing nothing, or perhaps pounding the root of the cassava in a wooden mortar, with a wooden pestle, to extract from it, by frequent washing, its poisonous qualities, before making it into bread.

‘In large towns the cottages are somewhat better as it regards externals ; squarer, more regular in shape, better plastered and white washed, but the furnishing is not very superior ; some of the tortumas

may have given place to coarse earthenware, which, however, is no great improvement, for the earthenware is generally unglazed, and of the coarsest kind.

'The houses of the richer part of the community are roomy and commodious enough, and are generally supplied with furniture sent from the United States, gilded and painted with a variety of colours. It always, however, appeared to me that the word *comfort*, which is not in their vocabulary, would have become obsolete if it had been. They dine early, as a necessary consequence of their slight breakfast; and their chief luxuries are 'dulces,' (preserved fruits) whose flavour is altogether lost in a treble allowance of sugar. Good wines they know little about, and they are extremely temperate in regard to liquors of every kind. The chief amusement of the females is to play on the Spanish harp, or the guitar, their minds being neglected, and perhaps more so now, than before the revolution.—pp. 170—172.

We take our leave of Mr. Hawkshaw with sincere respect, and a hearty recommendation of his volume. It abounds in interesting descriptions of the scenery and natural production of the country, interspersed with sensible and well-considered observations on the character of the inhabitants, and the political prospects of the government.

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Art. V. *Corn-Law Fallacies, with the Answers.* By the Author of the 'Catechism on the Corn Laws.' Published uniformly with that work. 8vo. pp. 64. Effingham Wilson, 18, Bishopsgate Street. 1839.

WHEN after the wars of the French Revolution, peace at length arrived, it was the not unnatural expectation of the public, that this event was to bring with it, not only the cessation of the intolerable expenses which with the aid of the funding system had been eating an increasing hole into the substance of the body politic, but that something like a curative process was to go forward, by the application of the *vis medicatrix* which resides in the industry of an unfettered community. Moralists and philosophers too hoped, that as war was the copious fountain of vice and misery in an infinity of indirect branches making a compound of scarcely inferior magnitude to the direct, so peace would come 'with healing in its wings,' and all men rejoice in the contrast afforded to the ills and privations attendant upon war. And great was the shock given to these hopes, when almost the first consequence of peace, was found to be the introduction of a legislative system manifestly bearing prohibition and restriction on its

face. The public intellect was not at home upon the subject; for, to a considerable extent, and as far as regarded the personal experience of most of the existing generation, the theory might be said to be among the untried. But it bore a most unfortunate resemblance to another theory, of which it could not be denied the nation had had experience enough. By a syllogism of the same class with that which had told us, that 'the taxation levied from a people was returned on them in refreshing showers by its expenditure,' it was represented, that the real way to increase commerce, was to begin by limiting it; that the accumulation arising from the restriction in one particular branch of trade, would extend itself in the shape of invigorating wealth to all the others; that liberty was ruinous, and that to stop the traffic of one set of traders for the benefit of others, was the *primum mobile* required for setting the whole machine in motion with advantage. Any dispute as to which the sacrificed trade should be, was set at rest by the fact that *all* the members of the legislature were selected, by birth or solemn oath, from one particular class; and it needs no historian to assure us, that this class was not the one fixed on to repeat the part of Curtius by voluntary self-sacrifice. In short the huckstering legislators, or legislating hucksters, determined that their ware, which was corn, should be increased in price by the exclusion of such increase to the food of the community, as might have been derived from foreign trade.

But if the theory was untried then, it is by no means untried now. Twenty-three years have been a competent period, both for collecting the experimental evidences of the consequences, and for arranging such inferences of man's reasoning faculty, as supported the conviction that there was no mistake in the connexion traced. As the system has not been carried on in a corner, so neither has the opposition. One writer by himself, appears for eleven years together, to have kept up a running fire of assault, consisting in collecting and publishing the arguments advanced from time to time by the defenders of the Corn Laws, with the answers; amounting, as may be gathered from the portion of his work which is at the head of this article, to upwards of a thousand in all, published sometimes in pamphlets, and at others in the still more effective way, of a running commentary in a daily or weekly newspaper, as in the last instance was effected in *The Sun*. Great advantages must have attended such a mode of action. There is no necessity for referring the new reader to distant works, or distant parts of the same work; the fragment that catches his eye during the momentary relaxation of a coffee-house, or in the parlour of an inn, is an answer to the point taken for attack, and as such, has a powerful tendency to lay hold on all the lurking suspicions or interests of the reader, and carry him on to further inquiry. Another great advantage of such a plan, is



that the author has an unlimited opportunity of re-writing himself,—of mending whatever may have been said feebly, or developed imperfectly, and thus obtaining a sort of wedge or screw-like power of driving the conclusion home.

The present series opens, as if at hazard, on one of the great authorities of the opposing side; and the first page puts forward with good advantage as regards the introduction of the subject, what may be called the parallel of the 'flower-pots.' Few persons are so uninformed upon the general question, as to require to be told, that the Corn Laws consist in a tax on the landing of foreign corn, complicated by a graduated scale, which allows the duty to be less when prices are higher.

1.—Would not an admission of foreign corn cause a great extent of British land to be put out of tillage, and, by consequence, a great number of agricultural labourers to be put out of employment? *Standard*, Aug. 18, 1838.

flower-pot cultivator thrown out of employment, ten honest men would be called into employment some other way. Ask the people of Manchester what they think of the experiment.

2. — Would not these labourers be thrown into the supply of manufacturing labourers, to look for employment?—*Id.*

their descendants, were to be kept by public subscription in *secula seculorum*, there would be no persuading the men of Manchester to keep fast their gates for fear of such a consummation.

3.—Would not the effect of a reduction in the price of grain, be to cause wages to be reduced in full proportion, under the operation of a Poor Law which has screwed down wages to the 'starving place,' whatever that place—in other words, whatever the price of bread—may be?—*Id.*

that after you have diminished the supply of corn one-half, wages are to rise till they give us as much corn out of the half as they did of the whole? No, no; your plan is to get two days' work out of us for a gallon of corn, instead of one." And by the contrary rule, if the quantity of corn was increased, it would be impossible that the wages of the working classes should fall so as to give them the power of buying no more corn than before; for if so, how is all the corn to be sold? A Poor Law may screw down wages to the 'starving place' when the employment of the working classes is cut off by the

*Answer.*—It would cause a certain extent to be put out of tillage, just as, if Manchester was walled up, and the people fed with corn grown in flower-pots and on the tops of houses, opening the gates would cause the flower-pots to be put out of tillage, and the labourers employed on them to be put out of employment. But for one gallon of corn so prevented from being grown in flower-pots, ten would be brought in through the gates; and for one

*A.*—Undoubtedly. But the people of Manchester would be enormous fools if they resisted the opening of their gates, for fear of having the labourers on flower-pots thrown on them for employment. If every one of these labourers, with

*A.*—The reduction in the price of grain would cause wages to be reduced, but not in full proportion. To make it clearer, begin with the converse case. Suppose that in a country where there were no Corn Laws, the landlords were to come to the working classes and say, "Let us cut off your supplies of foreign corn, and when there is half as much corn as there was, the price of corn will rise; and wages, you know, will rise too, and then you will be as well off as before." Would not the working classes immediately reply, "Do you mean to tell us, who are the great consumers of corn,

stoppage of foreign trade; but the way to put an end to the 'screw,' is to open the sources of employment, and allow England to be a commercial country.

4.—Would not the surplus supply of labour, created by the dismissal of hundreds of thousands hitherto employed in tillage,

A.—As in the case of the flower-pots, for every man thrown out of one employment, ten would be brought into another.

5.—Would not the home market for manufactured goods be very seriously impaired by whatever should ruin the landed gentry and farmers, and artificers and shop-keepers depending upon landowners and farmers, throughout the kingdom?—*Id.*

greatly facilitate this operation?—*Id.*

A.—Just as the home market for Manchester goods would be impaired by opening the gates, and putting an end to the gains of the owners of flower-pots, and the artificers and shopkeepers dependent thereupon. For every customer lost, ten twice as good would be acquired.

6.—Must not the effect of the admission of foreign corn be a vast exportation of capital during many years, and until more extended markets for British manufactures can possibly be established abroad by foreigners acquiring the taste for, or the want of, our manufactures—always a work of time?—*Id.*

A.—There is no time wanted for the business at all. Foreigners are standing begging for our manufactures, on the sole condition of our taking in return what *we want*, and *they have to give*. Foreigners have had taste for our manufactures long enough; it is we who make laws to prevent ourselves from taking from the foreigners the payment they have to give.

7.—Is it not more than probable, is it not certain, that foreigners would employ this capital, and this time, in establishing rival manufactures?—*Id.*

—always a work of time?—*Id.*

A.—Open your gates to what foreigners have to pay in, and down drops their inducement to employ either capital or time in establishing rival manufactures at all. For twenty years you have been paying a premium on foreign manufactures, by refusing to allow foreigners to supply themselves from our manufacturers. Nine-tenths of the continental market is probably irrecoverably gone from us, and we are a little nation instead of a great one by the consequences. But the tenth, though only a tenth, might be worth struggling for. Fools must pay, till they get wiser.

8.—Is it not absolutely necessary, as a security against famine in unfavourable seasons, and against the chances of war, to keep up the home supply of food at the highest possible point?—*Id.*

A.—All experience proves that it is not necessary, and that the contrary is necessary. We do not grow cotton in hot-houses, for fear the Americans should some time cut us off from a clean shirt; nor prohibit tallow, hemp, or tar from the Baltic, lest the powers of the Baltic should at some time go to war. We know, that wherever we have a trade with another country, that trade is of as

much importance, perhaps more, to that country as to us. And corn is of all things the article, which, if we cannot get from one quarter, we can from another. It would be just as sensible to stop all foreign trade, for fear of war, as the corn trade.

The next is the parallel of the '*Morning Chronicle* making his own shoes,' taken from another opponent of great sound and fierceness.

9.—Every shilling paid to a foreigner for corn, is a shilling lost to this na-

A.—The "*Morning Chronicle*" would be a great simpleton, if he insisted on making his own shoes and those of his servants, when he might obtain

tion, and a shilling gain to the recipient, upon the same principle as the *Morning Chronicle* would lose, and the *Morning Post* would gain, if instead of the former's inserting advertisements in his paper, he were to kick the customers out of his shop into the shop of his neighbouring rival, the latter. There is no more friendship in the trade of nations than in the trade of individuals; and while England shall have a church-yard unploughed, she ought not to buy a grain of corn from a foreigner, no more than the *Morning Chronicle* should refuse to insert advertisements for the behalf of the *Morning Post*.—*John Bull*, Aug. 26, 1838.

10.—As to the question about "*cheap bread*," the affair, as far as ploughmen, artisans, and paupers are concerned, is in a nutshell. Let the price be what it will, *they* are merely kept alive as the wheels of a machine are greased, — *by quantity*. Whatever has been, is, or shall be the price of

corn, it never did, does not, and never will enter into the head of a philosopher to regulate wages on any other principle than that which enables a labourer, whether at the plough or the loom, the canal, the railroad, in the mines, or at the anvil, to buy a certain number of "*ounces*" of the "*staff of life*." Why talk about the price then? —the word *quantity* is your only word.—*Id.*

11.—The labourers—whether those who make the corn to come in Ireland, and never taste it, or the paupers who *did* make the corn to come in England, and are now dying by "*ounces*," or the weavers who are brought down to the starvation point—all have nothing whatever to do with the *price* of corn, particularly when that price is lowered or raised even by forging on a piece of paper the name of MOSES by JACOB, or the name of OBADIAH by EPHRAIM.—*Id.*

12.—We hold it to be sound philosophy, and not such as is taught by Scotchmen, that neither a nation nor an individual can gain by buying of another nation or another individual, that commodity which the nation and individual can produce from their own soil and from their own loom.—*Id.*

13.—And it seems to us equally sound philosophy that no two nations ner

double the shoes in the same time by working at his desk, and buying of the shoemaker. The loss is of the same kind, when a nation buys half a quarter of corn for the same price that it might obtain a whole one. The contrary plea depends on concealing the fact, that the man who saves half the price of his quarter of corn, as certainly expends that half with some other tradesman, as he would with the home grower of dear corn. To the rest of trade, therefore, in the aggregate, there is a balance. But remains the difference, that in one case the consumer gets something for his money.

A.—The quantity an individual will get, depends on the whole quantity which there is to be had, and on the competition for it. The plan is to shut out foreign corn, in order that by diminishing the whole quantity, the artisan may be forced by competition to give more days' work for a bushel of corn. Shut up the rats in a trap, to breed on a limited quantity of corn, and it will soon be seen how each is to have a smaller portion out of the limited quantity than out of a greater.

A.—In all these cases, competition, and want of demand for labourers to diminish it, are what make the misery. If the Irish are ever to mend, their best chance is in the demand for muscle which will be created when England is opened to commerce by the abolition of the Corn Laws. If the English poor are to escape from "*ounces*," it must be by obtaining the permission to keep themselves, their betters now deprive them of. If the weavers are to escape starvation point, it must be by ceasing to pay a premium to foreign manufacturers for taking the bread out of their mouths.

A.—The blunder, as before, of inviting the *Morning Chronicle* to make his own shoes.

A.—The blunder, as before, of inviting the *Morning Chronicle* to make his own shoes.

A.—If the *Morning Chronicle* insisted on making his own shoes, and the shoemaker on being a "*Chronicle*" to himself, and being his own



individuals can gain by an exchange of any commodities, unless some third nation or individual will be pleased to buy and pay for the commodities exchanged ;—*Id.*

printer,—this would be an example of how two individuals might gain, though no third person stood by to buy or pay. Exactly the same, if Germany insists on making dear manufactures, and England on raising dear corn ; when by the simple invention of an exchange, Germany might have twice as many manufactures for her pains, and England twice as much corn.

14. — but the nation which exchanges money or merchandise for foreign food when that nation can grow and produce that food for itself, must be mad—that's all.—*Id.*

*A.*—There is omission, of whether it can be produced at the same price. If the *Chronicle* produced his own shoes, when they might be had by half the labour employed in his trade of chron-icling, then *he* would be the madman. But the madmen have always been for shutting up the wise.

Some extracts from a celebrated Magazine of the north, introduce an exposition of the general principle of free trade, in what may be called the parallel of the 'Omnibus.'

20.—The colonial system is founded upon the principle, that our own industry, whether at home or abroad, is to obtain a decided preference over that of other nations.—*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* for Sept. 1838. Article, *The Reciprocity and Colonial Systems.*

*A.* — The principle again, of the *Morning Chronicle* making his own shoes, either in his own bureau, or in a colonial establishment struck out from a corner of his office.

21. — The reciprocity system is founded on the principle, that the great thing to be considered is, where the commodities which we require can be purchased cheapest; that if they can be got at a lower rate from other states than our own trans-marine possessions, no hesitation whatever should be felt in preferring the cheap merchant in foreign states.—*Id.*

*A.*—What is founded on this principle, is not the 'reciprocity' system, but the system of 'free trade.' The reciprocity system is founded on something else. But the principle aimed at, whatever the system founded on it is called, is this. *A* rides in *B's* omnibus for sixpence, the same distance that *C*, who is a hackney-coachman, would convey him for half-a-crown. 'What folly,' cries a citizen of the old school, 'to encourage *A* to take money out of *C's* pocket, when it is evident that any gain to *A*, is balanced by loss to *C*, and the public in the aggregate has no interest in the matter.' 'Stop,' says *A*, 'I laid out the two shillings with *D* for an extra pint of wine, which I guess was as good for trade when given to *D* as to *C*, and my stomach

tells me I am better by exactly the pint of wine.' Here then was the blunder of the ancient citizen ; he forgot that after a balance to trade in the aggregate in all other quarters, the trader *A* who is the consumer, is to gain two shillings' worth or lose it.

'But there is a weighty point behind,' cries the ancient citizen ; 'the omnibus is altogether a French concern ; the owner lives at Boulogne, and for every ride you take, you pay to *him*.' Says *A*, 'That makes no difference ; the Boulogne man must be paid, either with English goods, or with foreign goods (silver and gold included), which have been bought with English goods ; and I guess that *E*, the maker of those English goods, is as much obliged to me to the amount of sixpence, as would have been the owner of the omnibus if he had lived in Holborn. What you want, I see, is to persuade me to go without my pint of wine.'

22.—The vital point which separates these two systems is, whether the ruling powers in the dominant state be the *producers* or the *consumers*.—*Id.*

either from the English omnibus-owner *B*, or the English trader *E* who supplies the goods that directly or indirectly go to Boulogne if the omnibus is French. In other words the question is, whether trade shall be so conducted as to make the trader, who is the consumer, lose his pint of wine at every turn, with none the smallest gain to the rest of trade in the aggregate thereby, and for the sole chance therefore, of what some trades may pick from one another in the scramble.

23.—The producers, whether of grain, of butcher meat, of manufactures, or of shipping, strenuously maintain that the great object of Government should be to give encouragement to your own industry, and prevent the rivalry or competition of foreign states from encroaching upon or injuring your domestic farmers and manufacturers.—*Id.*

protection' and 'encouraging your own industry;' themselves, all the while, composing the consumers who are to lose. And Governments are to be called on to support this system of carrying on trade at the greatest possible aggregate loss.

24.—Under this system, and by these ideas, the commercial policy of the country has been conducted for 170 years before 1820. The object of legislation, in all its branches, was to secure to their own subjects the benefit of their own trade and manufactures and consumption, and to shut out, as much as possible, the competition of foreign states.—*Id.*

25.—To cement and secure this immense dominion, two principles were early adopted and steadily acted upon by the British Government. The first of these was to maintain, by the utmost exertion of the national resources a great and powerful navy \*\* [and secondly, the Government] by a steady system of policy endeavoured to give our own seamen an advantage over those of foreign nations in the supply of the

*A.*—A great truth, however it came there. The vital question is, whether the producers who stand in the place of the hackney-coachman *C*, are to take away the pints of wine from *A*, it being further understood that they at the same time take away trade to an equal amount from the vintner *D*, and to the amount of the remaining sixpence

omnibus-owner *B*, or the English trader *E* who supplies the goods that directly or indirectly go to Boulogne if the omnibus is French. In other words the question is, whether trade shall be so conducted as to make the trader, who is the consumer, lose his pint of wine at every turn, with none the smallest gain to the rest of trade in the aggregate thereby, and for the sole chance therefore, of what some trades may pick from one another in the scramble.

*A.*—Everybody is for robbing everybody, and throwing the pint of wine into the sea at every turn besides. The corn-grower is to increase the price of corn, and levy the difference once from the manufacturer who is the consumer, and once over again in the shape of loss of business to the traders with whom the consumer would have laid out that value if he had had it left. And the manufacturer is to increase the price of manufactured goods, and levy the difference, once from the corn-grower who is the consumer, and once more in the shape of loss to the traders with whom the consumer would have expended it, as before. And noodles from both sides are to meet together, and call this 'mutual

protection' and 'encouraging your own industry;' themselves, all the while, composing the consumers who are to lose. And Governments are to be called on to support this system of carrying on trade at the greatest possible aggregate loss.

*A.*—Secure to the *Morning Chronicle* 'the benefit of his own trade and manufactures and consumption,' by forcing him to make his own shoes, when he could get them cheaper by the exchange of his own produce out of doors.

*A.*—The Navigation Laws were an attempt to strengthen the country by buying sailors at more than they were worth. They jumped the fact that the naval power of a country does not depend only on multiplying the sailor animal, but on multiplying the general wealth by which a naval war must be carried on. Hence, to increase sailors by a loss to the general wealth of the country, was buying 'the mustard without the beef,' or a disproportionate quantity of mustard at the expense of beef.

The account of the objects of the Navigation Laws is good. The 'heavier duties' spoken of, are technically called discriminating duties.

It was on this principle that the celebrated

Navigation Laws of England were founded, the leading objects of which were to secure to our own ships and seamen exclusively the trade with our colonies, and between our colonies and foreign States, and to give greater advantages to our own sailors than those of other nations enjoyed, by imposing a heavier duty on goods brought in foreign vessels than in those which were built in our own harbours, and navigated by our own seamen. And also, in many instances, to allow smaller drawbacks upon articles exported in foreign than those exported in British ships.—*Id.*

An extract in the same Magazine presents a useful explanation of what the 'reciprocity' system really was; a system frequently confounded with that of free trade in general, to the manifest prejudice of the understanding of the whole.

28.—Mr. Porter, in his late valuable statistical publication ('Progress of the Nation'), thus explains the Reciprocity Acts, (4 Geo. IV. c. 77, and 5 Geo. IV. c. 1.) 'These Acts authorised his Majesty, by Order in Council, to permit the importation and exportation of goods in foreign vessels, on payment

of the same duties as were chargeable when imported in British vessels, in favour of all such countries as should not levy discriminating duties upon goods imported into those countries in British vessels; and further, to levy upon the vessels of such countries, when frequenting British ports, the same tonnage duties as are chargeable on British vessels. A power was, on the other hand, given to the Crown by these Acts of Parliament, to impose additional duties on goods [in foreign ships] and shipping against any countries which should levy higher duties in the case of the employment of British vessels in the trade with those countries.'—*Id.*

But the general principle of free trade,—the ground on which all refusal to purchase goods where they may be had cheapest, is an absurdity and folly,—is yet more clearly enounced, in what may be called the parallel of the 'blunt axe;' on an occasion presented by the assertion of an opponent, apparently an impolitic one, that the defenders of free trade had evaded grappling with his arguments. And the attendant circumstances show the great advantage of what may be called the 'bit-by-bit' method of carrying on a controversy.

246.—It is felt to be superfluous, in short, to reiterate arguments, with which the champions of the free-trade party have never yet had the courage or the honesty to grapple.—*Morning Herald*, Nov. 9, 1838.

A.—An argument must be very unlucky, if it has never been hit after all the cross-firing there has been. Where are these arguments? Out with them; condescend once more, and put the enemy to open shame.

247.—The Corn-law rhymers and the Corn-law catechists, and the opponents, in all their varieties, of the Corn-laws, contrive to occupy themselves much more agreeably in repeating themselves, and in echoing each other, than they would be

A.—The poor men have done their best. But it appears they have missed something. Perhaps they have answered it, and the opponent does not know. He should remember, the question is not what *he* knows of, but other people.

and in echoing each other, than they would be



likely to do, in attempting to subvert manfully, [and in accordance with the laws of logic, the reasonings of the men who stand up in support of the cause of native industry.—*Id.*

248.—The general question of free-trade—including, of course, the question of Corn-laws—is a vital question between the whole body of native producers on the one hand, and the small, but formidable minority of idle consumers on the other. The whole body of native producers have one paramount interest—an interest, namely, in securing a high value for labour and all its products. The body of idle consumers, on the contrary, have a deep interest in cheapening labour, and all its products—because as the price of labour and of its products lessens, so does the power of idle consumers over producers increase.

The idle consumers, and their mouth-pieces, the economists, are never weary of chanting the praises of *cheapness*. To whom is cheapness beneficial? Only to the idle consumers themselves. Each class of producers appears, at first sight, it is true, to have an interest in buying the produce of the labour of the other classes cheaply; but each class of producers loses, in point of fact, more, by the general depression in the value of labour and its products (for, as the economists themselves have well shown, labour and all its products perpetually tend to a common level of value,) than they gain by the cheapness induced at the expense of their brother producers.

Free-trade, in short, affects the different parties to it, exactly after the following fashion. Each class of producers gains, in the first instance, by the experiment of free-trade when

A.—Here, then, is the argument of arguments, uninterrupted by saucy comment. The answer has been dinned into the public, in reviews, in pamphlets, and in lectures, at any time since 1830; and if any great originality had been claimed for it then, it would have been declared to be all traceable in Adam Smith. But if the opponent did not know of it, what more is to be said?

The answerers, then, answered as follows; which they repeat with many thanks for the opportunity. They said, that when the trade is stopped in an article from abroad, for the sake of producing the like article *dearer* at home,—for example, if the importation of gloves at two shillings a pair from France, is stopped to enable English glovers to produce gloves of the same quality for three shillings at home,—the several effects produced are these. That for each pair of gloves prevented from being imported, a trade to the value of two shillings is taken from the manufacturers or traders concerned in making the goods with which payment used to be made in France, and given to the English glove-makers. So far, balance. That further, a trade to the value of one shilling is given to the English glove-maker, and taken away from the trader, whoever he may be, with whom the consumer, who cannot spend the same shilling in two places, would have expended it if he had been let alone. So far, balance again. And that besides all this, which left a balance in English trade in the aggregate, there is the fact behind, that the consumer gets nothing instead of something for his money. So that if the consumer was Satan or a duchess, no gain to English trade in the aggregate, would arise out of the consumer's wrong. But inasmuch as a number of the consumers are neither Satan nor duchesses, but the working classes themselves, they in the aggregate bite off their own noses, to the exact extent to which they happen to be consumers of the article in question.

The answerers said, that the existence of this double loss for a single gain, in the case of the difference of price between the foreign and the protected article, was as palpable as in the case where a wood-cutter should be directed to cut with a blunt axe instead of a sharp, with the intent of charging his employer two shillings for two days' labour, instead of a shilling for one. That it is undeniable an additional shilling would be given to the fraternity of wood-cutters; but it is also undeniable that the same shilling would be taken from some trader, suppose the snuff-merchant, with whom the owner would have expended it, if left to have his wood cut with a sharp axe; and that after

tried upon producers of another class;—and, immediately afterwards, each class of producers loses much more than it has seemed to gain—loses, not merely by the direct extension in turn to itself of free-trade principles, but also by the indirect and irresistible effect upon the whole body of producers of that general depreciation, to which we have already alluded, in the value of labour and all its productions—a depreciation, of which even the partial application of free-trade principles is, of necessity, the cause. But how stands the case, on the other hand, with respect to the idle consumers in society? *They* gain, without any contingent loss, by each successive depreciation in the value of the different kinds of labour. *They* gain, in short, all that is sacrificed by the various orders of producers in succession.

No class of producers has, in point of fact, the slightest interest in cheapening the productions of any other producing class. All producers gain by a system which sustains the general value of labour. Under such a system, all producers are engaged in the work (so to speak) of *mutual insurance*. The *dearness* of the commodities on which they are respectively employed, is merely nominal to them; it is *real* dearness only to the idle consumers amongst their customers.

Such is a view of the question of free-trade, with which none of the champions of free-trade opinions—not the Corn-law rhymers, nor the Corn-law catechists, nor the journalists which echo their arguments—have ever yet dared to grapple;—nor will these ingenious gentlemen, we

these have made a balance to trade in the aggregate, comes the further fact that the owner has parted with a shilling for nothing, instead of the snuff he would have had for it if let alone. So that if any society could be supposed blockhead enough to establish such a system for general use, there would not be a man that lives by warming himself, that would not feel the effects of the irrational invention. And that this case, on reflection, is just as clear, as that an insulated fool who should invent cutting his wood with a blunt axe on purpose, must lose by the result; the only difference being, that in the more complicated instance, one loss and one gain fall upon separate individuals, and after these are set off against each other, there remains an aggregate or final deficit of the consumer's loss.

They said further, that for the industrious classes to comfort themselves with the idea that they had the advantage turn-and-turn about, was the same folly as if they should agree to take a penny from one another day-and-day about, as they passed by Charing-cross, with the understanding that at every payment one halfpenny should be thrown into the Thames. That it is just as visible, that on the whole they cannot gain and must lose. That if there was a scramble for who should take most or oftenest, there is a bare possibility that somebody or other might pocket more than he lost in his turn; but that this again must be got by the increased suffering of somebody less lucky, and therefore the working classes who could seriously set up such a system at Charing-cross, would exhibit a compound of knavery and gullibility, which cut them off from compassion for any mischief to themselves that should ensue.

They further said, that as no prohibition of foreign articles can be made, without cutting off as much trade in one place as is added in another, and robbing the consumers besides,—it follows that employment and wages must be reduced in one place as much as they are raised in another, and a loss inflicted on the industrious classes, so far as they stand in the situation of consumers, besides; from all of which, no increase of employment or wages can arise in the aggregate, however numerous the experiments may be, any more than the surface of a pond can be raised, by taking water from one place to add it in another; so that there remains, after all, the naked comfort to the working classes, of losing the difference of price, in any foreign commodity (for instance corn) they happened to consume. All of which is equally applicable to the converse case of the removal of restriction; where it is equally clear, no general depression of the rewards of labour can take place, because they are raised in one place whenever they are lowered in another, and after all comes the

venture to promise, ever be found simple enough to enter upon the task. No : —Mr. PAULTON, and his candid fellow-labourers have wisely chosen a much easier and more profitable course.—*Id.*

the working classes want the property of the 'idle consumers,' let them go and take it. But do not let them be persuaded to go about it in a way which, for every time it takes four-pence in the shilling from a pensioned duchess in the bread she eats, takes it also from the starving manufacturer who can worse afford it. Yet this bait has been extensively gulped down by the working classes; and, like other gudgeons, they must digest the hook they swallow.

The Letter of a Working Man in the *Sun* of the 24th of Sept., gives an opportunity for *dissecting out* the precise way in which taxing foreign corn stops the sale of British manufactures, and grappling with that stumbling-block to the working classes, the certainty that money wages will fall when the artificial price of corn is removed; but the smaller money wages buy more of every thing than the old.

77. — The arguments which I see chiefly urged against the Corn Laws are these :—

1. That our not taking the corn of foreigners prevents their buying our manufactures.

2. That the higher price of our food, occasioned by these laws, prevents our competing with continental manufacturers in foreign markets.

These I take to be the two great arguments mainly relied on, to arouse our manufacturing population to oppose the present system. This reasoning, however, I hold to be fallacious, and that, *were it true*, the working people have little interest in a change of system.—*Letter of A WORKING MAN. Sun of Sept. 24, 1838.*

Our timber has got the 'aristocracy,' as well as corn.' 'What's to be done? we have nothing else of which you would not want more than we can make the waistcoat-pieces for at home.' 'Take back my waistcoat-pieces, and tell my owners to pretend to sell and make no more, till they can prevent the aristocracy from hindering their skipper from bringing back the cargo that would pay.'

It is likely this would be conclusive at Manchester; and it might be hard

sweeping benefit to the working classes, of being allowed to consume cheap corn.

All this has been said over and over again, and nobody has attempted to gainsay it. Nobody has pointed out where, and when, and how, the industrious classes are to be the gainers in the aggregate by the invention of employing the blunt axe instead of the sharp; and nobody means to do it. If

A.—THE WORKING MAN is a Londoner; and the men of Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and Birmingham, must be set to answer him, Ask at Manchester, for instance, what it is that would improve the condition of the operatives, and they will tell you, 'Something that would at once lower the price of bread, and cause a roaring demand for Manchester goods.' Put to them, then, the following case. A ship goes to the Continent, freighted with Manchester goods. "What will you buy—buy?" says the captain. "What will you sell—sell?" says the continental merchant. "Anything that I can get a cargo for in return, which when carried to an English port, will enable me to square accounts with the owners." 'Corn,' says the merchant, 'is dog-cheap here. Sell me your cargo for roubles, at the rate waistcoat-pieces are bearing in our market, and if you lay them out in corn you will get as much as I am sure must sell in England for what will make owners, manufacturers, and all, jump in their skins for joy.' 'Aha! my friend,' will reply the captain, 'where have *you* been lying all your time? Did you never hear that in England we have an aristocracy, and they put twenty shillings a quarter upon corn to raise their rents? I can't take corn.' 'Timber, then.' 'Just as bad.



to persuade the working people they had little interest in a change of system. Upon the other head, it is probable the objector is right ; and that stating the higher money price of food as the reason which prevents our competing with the continental manufacturers, is the blunder of putting forward a concomitant for a cause. And this is not saying, that if the price of food was lower, things would be no better. For what improved the state of things, to wit admitting more corn, would at the same time lower the price. But what allows of the increased sale of waistcoat-pieces, is not the diminished money price of the labourer's food, but taking off the tax which hindered a profitable home cargo from being made in corn. This is not the only instance of blundering on the part of the anti-Corn-law advocates ; another is, when they try to persuade the landlords or farmers, that they must be brought to the grindstone by the increased price of their own and labourers' bread. But it does not follow, because men advance bad arguments, that there are no good.

78.—The truth is, that if the Corn-laws were repealed, we should send *less* of our manufactures to foreigners than we now do, but *consume more ourselves*.—*Id.*

79.—What would then be saved in the lesser cost of food, would be mainly spent in better clothes and other comforts, to produce which more of our fellow-men must be set to work.—*Id.*

80.—But if the working classes are to be told that their advantage from a repeal of the Corn-laws is to result from their being then able to sell their manufactures to foreigners abroad, and to non-producers at home, at a *less* price than they now sell them, it is difficult to see the benefit.—*Id.*

81.—If wages are to be lower in proportion to the lowering of the cost of the loaf, as the second argument above noticed supposes, where is the good ?—*Id.*

82.—Oh ! but it is said there will be more employment, though at less wages. Employment is doubtless a good thing, but adequate remuneration for it is better.—*Id.*

private gentlemen of the Guards would do.

*A.*—The truth is, that we should consume more ourselves, and send more to foreigners also. For if we do not send more to foreigners than we do now, where is the more corn to come from, and what effect would there be from the repeal of the Corn Laws at all ? Prices would remain unaltered, and all things go on as before.

*A.*—Some of it would ; as stated before. But if more manufactures were not at the same time sent abroad, the whole plan would come to nothing.

*A.*—The everlasting puzzle between *money* prices and *substantial* ;—was it rightly said to be 'too much for the working classes and the Tories ?' They are to sell their manufactures, so that they shall get an increased quantity of what they want, corn. Wages are to be two shillings instead of half-a-crown, but they are to have as much bread and everything else for the two shillings, as they used to have for four. Do they want to take the Tories' offer instead ; which is, that they shall have half-a-crown instead of two shillings, but the half-crown shall only buy them as much of anything as fifteen-pence did before ?

*A.*—The second argument, whether bad or good, supposed no such thing. It is very possible for money wages to be lower when corn is lower, but not lower in the same proportion ; and if by such a process the working classes got as much bread as they want, they would not quarrel about the bits of tin.

*A.*—How is the adequate remuneration to be come by, if it is not by getting the wages that will buy the greater quantity instead of the less ? There is to be more employment, better *substantial* payment, and smaller *money* payment. If the working classes run after the Tories, for offering them greater wages which shall buy less, it is more than the pri-

The grand question of how far the farmers, and in fact the landlords too, are substantially and finally interested in the preservation of the Corn Laws, is entered upon in reply to the letter of an agriculturist.

83.—Now, Sir, the deduction from your postulates is necessarily this—that the landed body has interests apart from, and prejudicial to, the rest of the community;—*Letter of AN AGRICULTURIST, BUT NO ROBBER, in the Morning Chronicle of Oct. 1, 1838.*

A.—If it did not think it had, why did it enact that no man should sit in the House of Commons who could not prove he belonged to the class?

84.—that it is a body so exclusively selfish in its purposes, that even the class which was formerly supposed to be most closely connected with it, namely, the farmers, can have no object in common;—*Id.*

A.—The farmers are coming to the knowledge that they have no substantial interest in the continuance of the Corn Laws, but only in their being removed by degrees. There have been reasons given to them by philosophers scantily informed in their trade, which they were probably too wise to care for; but here are the true ones for their meditation.

When the Corn Laws were imposed, there is no doubt that it made a flush of employment for farmers, and there was room made, say for four farmers where there would only have been for three. It was a flush of the same kind as would have taken place in the employment for the printers' foremen in London, if the printers had got a law that all the printing for the country should be done in the metropolis. And as it would have been useless to go about to tell the printers' foremen that they would be brought to a stand-still by the increased price of printers' work when they wanted to have a little printing for themselves, so it would be useless to try to persuade the farmers that their gains would be brought to an end by the increased price of the food to be consumed by themselves or by their labourers. The farmers know well enough that on this point, though they may be losing by the shilling, they are gaining by the pound; and therefore it is very unlikely they should heed such representations, any more than the printers' foremen in the circumstances supposed. But though this is not the reason why they are brought to loss, there may be another; and there is one arising out of the fact that all men live by food and all men do not live by printing, which is quite competent to make the difference.

A flush of employment was given to the farmers when the Corn Laws were imposed. But what is become of it now? and is the final consequence to the farmers anything, but that there are four where there ought to have been three, and that the four are worse off than the three? They are worse off, because farmers, like other men, will have children,—nay, they are rather more given than most other people to the practice. But the means of providing for children are cut off. Jack, and Tom, and Harry, naturally each want a farm a-piece, if they could get it. But are they likely, or is it possible that they should get it? It is clear that nothing can be done for them, but wait for the old man's death, and then either two of the three must shift for themselves, or they must subdivide the farm, which in no long time will bring them or their posterity to be day-labourers. Now, before the Corn Laws, the world (when fighters would let it) was open for men to advance their fortunes in. The myriads who raised themselves by manufactures and foreign commerce, though they did not go abroad themselves, were examples of this truth. The country was a growing country; no man had said to it, 'Hitherto shalt thou grow, and no farther.' But all this is altered now; and the farmers, like other people, are sufferers in the end for the great injustice. But which way are they to get back again? If the Corn Laws are removed, the demand for farmers must decrease; and it does not appear how that can

serve their purpose. Their condition then is this. They are driven into a corner between two evils; and they must use their wits to see which is the greater and which the less; which is the permanent and perpetual one if let alone, and which is the temporary evil, like a spendthrift's pinching himself to escape a gaol, but followed by the greater ultimate good of curing the other. They must aim at removing the impediment to the country's advancement, by such steps as shall allow their interest in the increased openings for providing for children, to keep some pace with the diminution of demand for farmers which may arise from time to time out of the gradual removal of the monopoly. Nobody wants to hurt them, if they will only like sensible men set their shoulders to the wheel, before somebody else is obliged to do it for them. The farmers too, have the best of means of knowing how much exaggeration there is, in the representations made of the quantity of land that would be thrown out of cultivation, by ceasing to rob other people in the price of bread. Some lands would be changed from wheat to food for cattle; because the man who gets plenty of bread, is exceedingly apt to want a beef-steak along with it. Some would be changed to gardens; because when more can buy bread, more can buy asparagus. These changes might be vexatious to some, and good for others. But whether good for all or not, they do not amount to a reason why the farmers are to hold out for a wrong that harms themselves, till the rest of the community come down upon them, and put a stop to it with the strong hand.

What is true of the farmers is true also of their labourers; and true, with some variations, of the landlords too, when they shall have the grace to know it;—with the exception always of that portion who can make an eldest son, and quarter the rest of their posterity, male and female, on the public purse. It is small comfort to a sensible landlord that he has raised his rents from £800 a-year to £1000, if six children are thrown on his hands for whom he has no means on earth to make provision except by subdividing his estate.

Another specimen of the same kind of returning upon a subject, is given on an opportunity presented by the *Standard*.

254.—“Suppose,” says Colonel Thompson, in one of his late anti corn lectures, “Manchester surrounded with a wall of brass, and the people condemned to subsist upon the corn produced within that wall, and you have a type of the Corn-laws.”

Give me a footing, and I will move the world, said the mathematician. If Colonel Thompson is to suppose for us, he can have no difficulty in proving what he pleases for us, but we can suppose no such thing as he bids us to suppose, and therefore we will come to the fact—we cannot suppose a self-existent, self-peopled, self-defended, self-supported manufacturing town, such as Manchester.—*Standard*, Oct. 2, 1838.

255.—We know that, shut up in the Colonel's brazen wall—and no matter how abundantly supplied with food of every kind—Manchester would be one-half depopulated, and the other half pauperised, in five years, and

that at any time during that five years, its brazen wall would form but a feeble defence against any enemy that should think it worth conquering.—*Id.*

A.—The argument was, not that Manchester would hold out a greater or less time against the infliction of such a regimen; but that evils would arise, which by parity of reasoning must also arise in the case of the Corn-laws, and that one set is illustrative of the other. And this it was, which the opponent was to disprove if he could.

\* A.—It had been stated, that if Manchester were walled up, certain ill effects would arise within the year from the diminution of food; and reply is made, that if Manchester were walled up, it would be impoverished within five years from other causes. Whether true or not, this is nothing to the argument.



256.—Defence and population are supplied by the rural districts, and by the rural districts, too, are the worn-out manufacturers maintained, while the Corn-laws supply to the manufacturing towns the only means of even in part repaying the benefits that they receive. This trash of Colonel Thompson is, however, not one jot worse than that usually employed by the anti-Corn-law agitators.—*Id.*

*A.*—Instead of answering the argument in hand, three new reasons are brought forward, why walled-up Manchester should be uncomfortable ;—which will be answered in their turn.

But what had been argued was, that if Manchester was confined to the corn grown in flower-pots within its walls, it would be useless to try to persuade the inhabitants in general, that the high prices thus created for the owners of the flower-pots were an advantage to the community, on the ground that when one portion of the community is benefited the others must benefit along with it. And that, by parity of reasoning, the like may be inferred, in the case of the prohibition of foreign corn. To this the *Standard* has given no reply.

It had been urged, that it would be vain to try to convince the manufacturers in particular, that the increased prices given for the corn of flower-pots were afterwards laid out by the owners of the flower-pots upon the manufacturers, to their great gain and advantage. Because the manufacturers would see clearly, that the process amounted only to inviting them to give the price of two yards of cloth for a bushel of corn instead of one yard, on the promise that the increased price should afterwards be laid out upon themselves ; in other words, that they should be indulged with giving two yards of cloth for a bushel of corn, instead of one yard. And that by parity of reasoning, the like may be inferred in the case of the prohibition of foreign corn. To this the *Standard* has offered nothing in opposition.

It had been pointed out, that to tell the inhabitants of Manchester that by opening their gates they would only exchange one set of agricultural customers for another, and that any quantity of corn obtained from without, must be balanced by the cessation of an equal quantity from within, would be unreasonable and beyond the bounds of what human credulity can be expected to receive. Inasmuch as it would be notorious and palpable, that the object was to exchange the worse set of customers for the better,—the customers who gave a bushel of corn for two yards of cloth, for the customers who gave it for one. And that by parity of reasoning, the like may be inferred in the case of foreign corn. To this also, the *Standard* has offered nothing in reply.

It had been stated, that to tell the people of Manchester of the superior value of the home market, would be met by the assertion, that the proof of this rested on experiment, and that whenever they had the evidence of prices, that the home market was not the best but the worst, they must be excused for preferring that which gave most. And that by parity of reasoning, the like may be advanced in answer to the alleged importance of the home market in the case of foreign trade in corn. To this again, the *Standard* has stated nothing in the way of refutation.

It has been advanced, that it would be useless to attempt to deter the manufacturers of Manchester from opening their gates, by the representation that their wages must fall. Because they would immediately answer, that they knew their wages must fall, but not so much as the price of corn, and therefore the end would be, that they would obtain a bushel of corn for the labour that made one yard of cloth, instead of the labour that made two, which was what they wanted. And that by parity of reasoning, the like would hold good in respect of any fall of wages that was to arise from access to foreign corn. To this too, the *Standard* has presented no disproof.

It had been noticed, that it would be an equally bootless errand, to persuade the manufacturers to keep fast their gates, for fear of the influx of hands from the cultivation of flower-pots, which would be thrown upon

manufactures if the flower-pot system were put an end to. Because the manufacturers would know full well, that for every additional hand thus thrown on manufactures for employment, a call for ten would be created in consequence of the general freedom given to industry. And that by parity of reasoning, the like is to be inferred in the case of removing the prohibitions on the trade in foreign corn. To this moreover, the *Standard* has not advanced any objection or reply.

It had been observed, that it would be totally useless to expect to induce the manufacturers to keep fast their gates, by the promise of a protection in turn to each of their respective branches, consisting in preventing the introduction of any manufactures of the same kind from without the walls. Because it would be plain that this was no cure of the great internal evil, consisting in being confined to the use of the smaller quantity of food instead of the greater. And that the like inference immediately presents itself, in considering the question of foreign corn. To this the *Standard* has suggested no reply.

Notice had been taken, of the inutility of endeavouring to frighten the inhabitants of Manchester, by the threat that if they opened their gates, capital would migrate into the surrounding country. For they would reply, that if it did migrate, it would be no worse than that all should be ruinously shut up at home by the invention of confining men to town-grown corn. And that the like inference leaps into men's faces, on the subject of the actual Corn-laws. To this the *Standard* has attempted no answer.

It was palpable, that it would be a flagrant absurdity to threaten the people of Manchester, that if they opened their gates, the consequence would be the establishment of rival manufactures outside. Because they would reply, that supposing this done to the fullest extent, their condition would at all events be no worse, than while they were penned within their gates; but that the last way, in their eyes, to make people establish manufactures for themselves, was to manufacture for them, and that all they asked was, to be allowed to supply manufactures to such as would willingly receive them. And the like inference appeared inevitable in the case connected with foreign corn. To this the *Standard* has not made any reply.

It had been noted as evidently useless, to try to persuade the people of Manchester to keep fast their gates, by the fear that corn would be bought outside with their gold. For they would reply, that the gold could go no longer than it was more profitable that it should go than stay, and therefore the practice must stop of itself, unless a way was contemporaneously found out of purchasing gold with Manchester goods in some other direction, which would be the very thing they most desired. And that the like answer holds, in the case of any corresponding danger threatened from the removal of the Corn-laws. To this again, the *Standard* has offered nothing in the way of objection.

It was clear, that there would be no use in asking the manufacturers to believe, that as producers they had some interest distinct from that of consumers, which should induce them to keep up high prices by keeping fast their gates. Because they would answer that they had the lamentable experience, that as consumers they were driven to starve, and that nothing fell to their lot as producers which could in any way be set off against the sufferings which, as consumers, they felt from the lack of corn. And that the corresponding inference held good in the enlarged case of the Corn-laws. To this the *Standard* has offered no reply.

It struck every person, that while Manchester was so walled up, a statement that its continuance could be rendered necessary, by any circumstances of taxation or public or private debt within the walls, would be voted by acclamation nugatory and absurd. And that there was the same absence of reason why any similar statements connected with the continuance of the Corn-laws, should be received with respect. To this also, the *Standard* has omitted to make any answer.

It was an evidently necessary consequence, that if the people within the walls had the ordinary tendency to multiplication, a large and increasing population must be from time to time ground down, or else prevented from coming into existence, by the combined operation of vice and misery; and there was no visible reason why an effect of the same kind should not equally be taking place in the case of the Corn-laws. To this inference the *Standard* has not attempted any opposition.

If in a town so walled-up there were Poor-laws, it was plain that to a certain extent they gave at least the prospect of some check to the system of starving the industrious classes for the benefit of the owners of the flower-pots; and that the population which should consent to see the provision for the poor removed or reduced, while the shutting of the gates was persisted in, would offer an instance of abject courting of injury, such as human nature might have been deemed incompetent to furnish. And that an inference of the like nature must present itself, when the poor are "thrown on their own resources" by the New Poor-law, and the landowners left to continue to find *their* resources in the Corn-law. To this again, the *Standard* has not attempted to reply.

It was remarked as evident, that in a town so excluded from supply from without, the labourers and farmers, if such there were, employed in the cultivation of the flower-pots, must in a short time be brought to the same state of depression with the rest of the industrious classes. For so long as the instinct of multiplication operates with them as with the other classes, they must bring themselves by mutual competition to the same scale of wages and of profits; the restrictions imposed acting equally upon all, to prevent the finding employment for children in trade beyond the walls. All of which appears to be directly transferable to the instance of the Corn-laws. To this too, the *Standard* has not produced the appearance of an answer.

If an arrangement was provided, for allowing the introduction of corn from without the walls, on payment of duties falling with the urgency of the moment, it would be plain that this was only an invention of the nature of a safety-valve, for creating the maximum of safety to the general wrong; and the like inference appears inevitable in the case of the Corn-laws, so long as no reason is offered to the contrary, which by the *Standard* has not been attempted to be done.

The fallacy was equally palpable, of defending the closing of the gates, on the pleas that it was necessary in order to have a resource against famine; to preserve independence; that prices outside would rise; that the population inside would increase till prices were as high as before; that there could be no such thing as a permanently overflowing supply; that any benefit could only be temporary; that the trade outside would not produce so much home expenditure; that the manufacturers engaged in supplying the owners of flower-pots, were among the classes interested in preventing a better market outside; that the flower-pots were property; that they were part of our institutions; that the frame-work of society would be dissolved. And by parity of reasoning, similar conclusions were indicated, on the subject of the Corn-laws.

On all these points, either expressed or readily understood in the particular illustration or mode of argument which the *Standard* has professed to oppose, it has allowed judgment to go entirely by default. Friends and enemies are invited to observe, that on the whole of the analogies and conclusions thus advanced, it has attempted no defence whatever, but instead, has put forward three unconnected objections to the removal of the Corn-laws, the strength of which it is now the time to examine.

The first is, that the rural districts supply the *defence* of the rest of the community, and therefore should have the Corn-laws. In other words, that the military prowess of a thousand recruits from the class of clod-hoppers, is so decidedly more useful and available for the defence of a maritime



country than the services of *two* thousand manufacturers and seamen, that it is imperiously necessary to put down the latter by law, as the means of securing the other.

The second, that the population of the manufacturing towns cannot be kept up without assistance from the rural districts. Which is only saying that the condition of the manufacturers is made so bad, that they cannot keep up their numbers; a condition worse than the average condition of slaves in the European colonies.

The third, that the manufacturers when worn out, must be maintained by the agriculturists. Which people thought a good deal had been done to do away, by what the inventors of the New Poor-law call 'throwing the poor upon their own resources.'

If the three new reasons are naught, then the *Standard* has given a specimen of what its side can do in the way of argument for the Corn-laws.

The argument, the most serious probably of the whole, which relates to our independence of foreign powers, is thus replied to.

32.—If we are dependent on foreign supplies for grain, we cannot maintain even the shadow of independence; because foreign nations can at any moment, by simply closing their harbours, reduce our people to desperation, and our Government to submission. —*Id.*

A.—That is to say, if all foreign nations should close all harbours at once, all trade might be cut off. Throwing all aces with fifty dice is nothing to it. We know by experiment that the Emperor of Russia could not cut us off from tar and hemp, at a time when we were proceeding to fight him with his own goods. And why? Because his own people cut *him* off in preference. But the object peeps out. We are to be kept on the slip for another Tory war; and commerce, which is the great bond which binds nations mutually to keep the peace, is to be put down accordingly.

An argument which appears to have strayed from the academic groves of Cambridge, is answered by an allusion to a pleasant tale of Charles Lamb's, which is probably in the recollection of many readers.

76.—That in consequence of tithes which fall entirely, and of poor and highway-rates which fall chiefly, on land, the home manufacturer of corn is entitled to a protecting duty according to every principle of justice and political economy.—*Cantabrigiensis.*

owners pay for the clergy, poor, and highways; and then make them cut off the foreign commerce of the manufacturers by way of giving themselves compensation.' Surely the Chinese political economists, who roasted a pig by setting a house on fire, were only a type of this.

A.—Meet the proposition in the face, and state it thus. There is an island with great mineral and other internal capabilities for manufactures, and consequently for commerce; but the people are already as many as can live on the corn produced on it, without paying a higher price than it could be bought for from the neighbouring main-land. An insular philosopher stands up and says, 'Whoever would improve this island, it is above all things necessary that he do two things;—make the land-

One of the most striking features of the case is, that the agriculturists avow that the system has not been attended with prosperity to themselves; which is thus turned to account, in an extract from a speech of Lord Chandos at an agricultural ordinary.

141.—At this moment let me congratulate you that the agricultural interest is progressing and not retrograding. It is something to have achieved even this. We are certainly at this time in a better position than we have been for some years, during which I have had the pleasure of dining annually at your market table. During these years we have seen and bewailed

much distress, and it is now a matter of no small satisfaction to know that the condition of the farmer is improved.—*Speech of the Marquis of Chandos at the Aylesbury Market Ordinary.* From the *Bucks Herald* of October 20, 1838.

A.—So in spite of the Corn Laws the agricultural interest has retrograded, and has been distressed; and if it is not so at this moment, *it is something to have achieved even this!* A strong hint to the agriculturists, as well as the classes who complain of the Corn Laws, that the Corn Laws are, from beginning to end, a blunder for the advantage of a few. If men put their own prices on their wares, and cannot prosper after all, can anything be wanted to prove, that there is some inherent source of retribution, which makes the injury to others impolitic as well as cruel?

The latter part of the work contains detailed examinations of the Article on the Corn Laws in Sir John Sinclair's 'Code of Agriculture,' a great text-book probably with the landed interest.

These extracts, more copious than ordinary, have been given with the view of presenting to those to whom the subject may be new, something like a statement of the question and the arguments. And now to the reflections which are suggested by the review.

And first, what a horrible addition must be made to the sum of vice and misery, by such a system of constraining the *killing-off* from time to time, of that vast increment of living and sentient population, which makes the difference between the total of what can be sustained upon the corn of a very limited island, and what would be found upon its surface if its vast capabilities for commerce were legalised and allowed to be brought into play. For to this must amount the final magnitude, the great integral as a mathematician would call it, of the infanticide and homicide by which the natural tendency to increase of population is practically kept down. And the process truly is not carried on in a corner. Wherever our eyes are turned, they meet objects which the great aim of society is to drive to perish unseen; the worn-out and the weak, whose days of strength were passed in straitness and want, and whose latter end is like that of the bird and the beast, lacking only the kind provision of nature, by which carnivorous animals are provided as the speedy means of terminating the struggles of decaying mortality. But calculate the mental and moral misery, the agonies of protracted existence, after all that makes memory pleasant or the future endurable has been swept away by the vices which a certain pitch of poverty brings with it in its train; and see what an overwhelming mass of evil is here put beyond the control of benevolence, and continued in operation by the regulations imposed by man on man.

And then the *monster immorality* of war, might be supposed to be the settled object, the game, the fruit, which it was determined to pursue. Every year's information adds to the evidence, that the complication of human wants and conveniences implied in a growing commerce, is the great instrument of Providence for checking the frequency and duration of wars. The direct effect therefore, of the prohibition which keeps the inhabitants of two countries gazing on each other with mutual wants which they dare not satisfy by an interchange, is to maintain nations in what has justly been called the 'fighting-cock' condition, the condition best calculated to make them the ready tools for mutual slaughter at the instigation of interested leaders.

A change has come over the spirit of the professedly religious world. There may have been times when it was permitted to them to indulge in pleasing retirement from the turmoil of life, and the minuteness of their influence over the passing scene might be at once the cause and the excuse. But the power entrusted to them has received a vast accession,—the talents which they must bury in no napkin, have been vastly multiplied. In all the greatest alterations of the age, these classes of society have borne a foremost part; witness the inroads made on the ills of slavery, punishments, oath-taking, the treatment of the insane, of debtors, and of the aborigines in our foreign territories. Virtue is not monastic now; and nothing that pertains to man, can be by man repudiated as what he is permitted to overlook. Surely there is in the evils inflicted by the remnant of feudal barbarism contained in the restrictions on the commerce of the different branches of the human family, a voice to rouse the attention of the wisest and the best.

Art. VI. *Greece*. By the Rev. CONNOP THIRLWALL. Vols. I.—V. Folscap 8vo. London. 1835—1838. (Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia.)

IN few things have the changes of the last half century been so decidedly advantageous, as in our means of obtaining a correct and comprehensive knowledge of Grecian history. We can well remember the time when an English reader had but slender chance of getting below the mere surface of a kind of learning which demands, beyond most others, extensive inquiry, cautious inference, and lucid exposition. The case was altered, much for the better, when Gillies and Mitford made public the results, not of cursory and common-place reading, but of genuine and laborious investigation. Neither, however, of these meritorious



writers succeeded in adequately supplying the urgent want of a history of Greece at once attractive and trustworthy. In all that relates to the higher qualities of historical composition, the work of Gillies was a failure: it never stood high in general opinion, and the sarcastic criticism of the '*Pursuits of Literature*,' seems to have brushed away the last traces of a small and dubious popularity. Yet, notwithstanding its feebleness and insipidity, and its utter deficiency in all that tends to excite and impress, it will be found, we think, to give a more correct view of the Grecian character than the rival work, to which it is, in all other respects, immeasurably inferior. Of Colonel Mitford's production we have little disposition to say much: if it be more stirringly written and altogether indicative of a more vigorous and original mind, it is so thoroughly one-sided, so wretchedly warped by political prejudice, and defaced by misrepresentations so perverse, as to take away all reliance upon its draughts of character, and in some degree on its exhibition of facts. Lord Redesdale has prefixed to the later editions a Memoir, in which, while admitting to a certain extent the charge of partiality, he puts forward in explanation and defence, the high admiration in which his brother held the British constitution, and his consequent disposition to try, by it, as an universal test, all other systems of polity. We pass by the sheer absurdity of such a course, and its utter destructiveness of all fair and liberal construction, to remark that even this cannot offer the slightest excuse for the way in which Mr. Mitford permitted himself to distort both circumstances and character, when they stood in the way of his hypothesis. He does not, indeed, seem to have gone fairly through the regular routine of a complete education. There was somewhat of waywardness and levity, in his youthful career, that hindered him from profiting by the liberal arrangements which were made for his early instruction; and this deficiency may in part account for some of those passages which have the appearance of perverted interpretation. Still, his history is a work of essential worth; to be read, indeed, with much and vigilant reserve, but exhibiting, throughout, the marks of original thinking and of diligent research. Heeren's criticism on these two historians may be worth citation: 'Mitford,' he says, 'is perhaps superior in learning, copiousness, and solidity, but he certainly is greatly surpassed by Gillies in genius and taste, and more especially in a proper conception of the spirit of antiquity.' This is correct enough, so far as the first clause is concerned, and it may be allowed to Gillies that he had formed a more just estimate of the 'spirit of antiquity;' but the very mention of 'genius and taste' in collocation with his name, is passing strange: of these high qualities but a slender portion can be assigned to one or the other, nor would it have occurred to us to produce them in illustration of the relative

merits of the two Authors, but assuredly in the award of intellectual superiority, there can be no hesitation in giving the palm to Mitford.

But, independently of these circumstances, and allowing to either or both of these works all that may reasonably be claimed in their behalf, it is plain that they can no longer be considered as representing the actual state of knowledge on the subjects of which they treat. The labors of German scholars have given a new aspect to Greek archæology: the writings of Kruse, Hüllman, Boeckh, Mueller, Heeren, and Wachsmuth, will long continue to be the lights of the historian, and the guides of the inquirer. It cannot, indeed, be denied that, in avoiding error, they have themselves sometimes erred; that in searching after evidence they have occasionally confounded plausibility with reality, hypothesis with fact; that they have at times admitted unsound links into their chain of tradition;—in all such cases we must so far follow their example as to exercise our own judgment; modestly, as in presence of the master, but firmly, as conscious of what is due to ourselves and to truth. Of these invaluable works, several of the more important have been well translated into our own language, and among these we should be inclined to reckon the volumes of Heeren as the most generally useful; those of Wachsmuth as the most scientific; and the productions of Boeckh and Mueller as the most original. Boeckh's 'Public Economy of Athens,' is not to be dispensed with by the student who wishes to form accurate notions of that singular polity; while the 'Dorians' of Mueller, admirably translated under the correction of the Author, is rich in illustration of the staminal tribes of Greece. It is much to be regretted that neither his equally important disquisitions on the cities of Bœotia and the migrations of the Minyæ, nor his able investigation of Etruscan antiquity, are accessible as yet to the English reader. His 'Handbuch der Archæologie der Kunst,' would not, we fear, repay the risks of publication: six hundred and some odd pages weigh rather heavy for a 'Manual,' and though the volume is full of instruction, it is not conveyed in a popular form. This latter objection applies to his *Aeginetica*, the '*primitiæ*' of his studies in Greek history, but in all other respects it is a composition of extraordinary excellence, combining, with singular skill, severe condensation with an exhausting accumulation of authorities. Nothing would more essentially contribute to the extension and improvement of historical science, than a series of works like this, discarding hypothesis and unnecessary discussion, but collecting and compressing all that may be obtainable of sound and substantial information. It ought, however, to be observed, that Mueller, with all his skill and scholarship, is not free from an occasional tendency to exaggeration. Some instances of this are

pointed out by Mr. Fynes Clinton, in the Introduction to the *first* volume, though the last in order of publication, of his *Fasti Hellenici*.

In strict justice we ought now to put forward the more recent efforts of our own countrymen in this difficult but well-repaying labour; and if, under present circumstances, we advert to them but cursorily, it is not from any deficiency of excellent materials. We could give a long list of high and indisputable authorities in this department: we might refer to the indefatigable and accumulative activity of Colonel Leake, the clear and practical description and disquisition of the lamented Sir William Gell, the learned illustration of Dodwell; but these distinguished men, and others of kindred genius, are too distinctly in the public eye to require at our hands any other than this slight indication. Of Mr. Fynes Clinton's work we have already spoken, and to that passing reference we shall only add our recommendation to the classical student, that he make it the inseparable companion of his lamp and his desk. There is, however, a late publication respecting which we must indulge, though still with brevity, in something more specific than these general intimations. The edition of Thucydides, by Dr. Arnold, is a work which, if it had been wrought out in full conformity with the original design, would have been a model for future commentators, and as it is, claims a foremost place among the volumes which a sound and searching reader takes care never to put beyond his reach. The text is thoroughly and skilfully sifted, but the principal value of the book is derived from the clear and comprehensive illustration which pervades the annotations. Dr. Arnold appears to have intended a large apparatus of dissertations on the historical, geographical, and philological questions, connected with the complete understanding of his Author, but this intention he has, unfortunately, declined to fulfil—for lack of knowledge, as he alleges, and for want of time to gain it! Alas for us, if Dr. Arnold fail in this point, where shall we look for that gifted scholar who is to supply his defective service? He can place sufficient reliance on his leisure and his learning for other tasks of scarcely inferior difficulty, and we could well have wished that, in the present case, he had been less scrupulous or more persevering. We regret the more deeply his abandonment of this design, since what he has actually done in this way, is of such excellent quality. We admire, too, the generous though discriminative eulogy which he bestows on the contemporaneous illustrators of Thucydides. One of these gentlemen, however, whose notions of quantity are somewhat too extravagant for even German allowance, has felt rather annoyed at the brief advertence to his lengthiness, with which Dr. Arnold felt it necessary to alloy a liberal allotment of praise. Nothing can be more courteously contemptuous than the quiet



sarcasm with which Dr. Arnold puts by the fierce assault of the learned but long-winded Professor whose name, Poppo, sounds somewhat awkwardly to English ears.

It is, however, time for us to desist from this discursive criticism, in which we have permitted ourselves to indulge only that we might enable our readers to form their own judgment of the facilities and expediences connected with the composition of a new history of Greece. They will probably have already come to the conclusion that, notwithstanding the undeniable advantages afforded to the scholar by these profound investigations, the real difficulties of the task are not materially lessened, while its responsibilities are marvellously increased. There still exists the same, perhaps a more urgent, necessity for the appeal to primary authorities, for weighing conflicting opinions, and for the stern rejection of bold speculation or plausible theory. This, in our opinion, has been happily effected by Mr. Thirlwall, whose volumes exhibit the results of high scholarship, clear views, and sound reasoning. His workmanship is excellent, though he has evidently been far more solicitous about essentials than manner: his arrangement is unexceptionable, and he tells his story in a free and vigorous style. There are in Grecian history so many doubtful and controverted points, that a good deal of discussion was inevitable, and this has given a disquisitive character to the work, that may be partially injurious to its merely popular character; so much, however, is added to its substantial value by these investigations, that no reader anxious for instruction will wish them either absent or abridged. The state and progress, for instance, of law and government among the Greeks cannot be fairly represented without an ample induction of particulars, and an extent of critical illustration that will appear overwhelming to an indolent and superficial reader; yet these are to our thinking the most valuable portions of Mr. Thirlwall's work. The constitutional history of Athens and Sparta is so intricate, and involved in so much obscurity, that every well conducted inquiry into its details and their connexion, awakens a peculiar interest in our minds. If we take as an example the story of Lycurgus, we shall find so many of the particulars assuming a questionable shape, that we might be justified in putting the whole aside as one of those legendary inventions in which Greece was so rich. On the other hand, there is a predominant weight of authority in favour of the leading circumstances, and it becomes therefore expedient to avoid hasty conclusions, and to try the effect of patient examination in assisting us to a satisfactory adjustment of this complicated question. This is admirably done by Mr. Thirlwall, whose chapter on the legislation of Lycurgus is full of shrewd and sagacious criticism. He clears away many of the incumbrances which have been permitted to accumulate in the path of

inquiry, and makes skilful use of the opportunity thus afforded him of placing incidental particulars in a right point of view. As a comment on the Spartan Institutions, tracing out their history and gradual perfection, it is complete for general purposes, and were we required to indicate a single portion, which should give a fair sample of the merits of the entire work, we should fix upon this section. We have been tempted to give a full analysis of the subject as exhibited by Mr. Thirlwall, but as it might not be easy to preserve the interest of a question, while submitting it to a process which necessarily discards nearly all that is attractive in its mode of treatment, we shall content ourselves with a citation from the conclusion of the chapter, containing a condensed *resumé* of the investigation and its results.

‘In the Dorian race, the primitive Hellenic character had been moulded, by the circumstances under which the people was formed and trained, into a peculiar form. Before the invasion of Peloponnesus, the conquerors had passed through a severe school. In the mountain tracts where they had wandered or settled, they had maintained a long struggle with danger and hardship, and they undoubtedly brought the habits and feelings which grow out of such a discipline, along with them, into the happier seats in which they finally established their dominion. Many of the Spartan virtues and vices seem to have flowed from this source. A people inured to poverty and toil, learns to pride itself in the fortitude with which it meets privation and suffering: it places its point of honor in disdaining all superfluous enjoyment, and shrinks from whatever serves merely to grace and refine life, as unmanly and pernicious luxury. This austere simplicity, though not inconsistent with kindly affection, is almost inseparable from a proportionate coarseness and harshness of sentiments, which is careless of all the more delicate observances of social intercourse, and is too apt to degenerate into ferocity and cruelty. A strong tendency to superstition, which several causes contribute to cherish in the mountaineer, distinguished the Spartans, even among the Greeks, down to a late period of their history: a habit of mind closely allied, or it may be said substantially one, with the attachment to ancient usages, the veneration for established rights, privileges, and authority, which generally prevails in mountain tribes, and which was a conspicuous feature in the character of the Spartan Dorians; tempered, however, by a natural love of freedom, and by the feeling of independence produced by the need of constant exertion.

‘Considered from this point of view, the comparison drawn by some of the ancients between the Spartans and the Sabines, though connected with an idle fancy, of a real kindred between the two nations, was by no means inappropriate. But what has been here said is equally applicable to all the Dorian conquerors of Peloponnesus, and would not suffice to explain the singular rigor of the Spartan discipline, and the minute exactness with which the Spartan system regulated details, which in most communities are considered beyond or



below the attention of the state. Those who attribute the whole system to Lycurgus, can give no better general view of his legislation, than by saying that he transformed Sparta into a camp. But it seems nearer the truth, to say that Sparta was a camp from the beginning of the conquest. For no description can better suit an unwall'd city, occupied by an invading army, in the midst of a hostile and half-subdued people; and hence, to the latest times, the Spartan, throughout the military age, was said to be on guard. A community which had taken up this position, and, as seems to have been the case with Sparta, was compelled to retain it until it became habitual and agreeable, was also constrained to adapt its institutions to its situation. A rigid discipline, a vigilant superintendence, which allowed the least possible room for the discretion of individuals in the employment of their time, uniform rules for all the stages and transactions of life;—this artificial state of society was a necessary consequence of its forced posture, and required no extraordinary genius to prescribe the form which it should assume.'—Vol. I., pp. 338—340.

Mr. Thirlwall is a faithful and discriminating draughtsman of personal character. He is not blind to the defects of the great men of ancient times; but neither is he niggard in the expression of his admiration because their political course may chance to swerve from the line which his prejudices would prescribe. He has a right apprehension of the 'spirit of antiquity,' and betrays no disposition to try the politicians of Greece by maxims drawn from *Magna Charta*. In particular, he does not pursue the consecrated memory of the great Athenian orator with malignant determination to find in every act and every pleading the signs of sinister purpose. He does not, after adorning the mind, morals, and person of his antagonist, Æschines, with every virtue and every charm, describe Demosthenes in odious contrast, as infirm of body, awkward in manner, sour and irritable in temper, 'extravagant in expense and greedy of gain; an unpleasant companion, a faithless friend, a contemptible soldier, and of notorious dishonesty, even in his profession of an advocate.' These are the very terms in which Mitford, with self-degrading rancour, ventures to stigmatize the statesman of whom Heeren says that 'his political principles emanated from the depth of his soul; he remained true to his feelings and convictions, amidst all changes of circumstances and all threatening dangers. Hence he was the most powerful of orators; because there was with him no surrender of his conviction, no partial compromise; in a word, no trace of weakness . . . of all political characters, Demosthenes is the most sublime and the purest tragic character, with which history is acquainted.' We will, however, admit that such language as this, is in the extreme, and that, however preferable its generous eulogy may be, to the small-minded petulance of Mitford's railing, there is more of discrimination required



in a just estimate of individual character. This quality is, we think, exhibited to admiration in the following paragraph.

‘With so many claims to admiration,’ writes Mr. Thirlwall, ‘he has left, we will not say an ambiguous, but a disputed character. It would indeed have been surprising had the case been otherwise with a man whose whole life was passed in the midst of the most violent political storms, and the most furious party-strife. His efforts to defend the liberties of Athens and of Greece against a foreign king, have earned him still more virulent attacks in modern times, than he experienced from the sycophants of his own day, or from his personal enemies. The extreme scantiness of our information as to his private history, and indeed as to the public events of his times, must always render it impossible distinctly to refute the imputations which have been thrown upon his moral worth: all that can be said in his defence is, that so far as can be now ascertained, not one of them rests upon any better foundation than partial statements or doubtful surmises; while, whatever we know with certainty of his public life is good and often great. That he was free from faults no one can suppose; his character was human—it was that of a Greek and an Athenian, in a corrupt and turbulent age, and in a difficult and trying station. It must not be compared with any purer models of virtue than the most illustrious statesmen of his country. From such a comparison, according to the view which he himself professed to take of his public conduct and his political aims, he had no need to shrink; for many of them had been more successful, but none in an undertaking so glorious as that in which he failed. Most of the graver charges which have been brought against him, are intimately connected with his public history; and our opinion of the man must be mainly regulated by the judgment we form of him as a statesman. If he truly represented the great object of his life to be that of preserving Greece from foreign domination, and if the means by which he strove to accomplish this purpose were, to husband the resources, to rouse the energies, and exalt the character of the Athenians, his own will stand in little need of an apology.’

Little more remains for us to say, than that these volumes bring down the history of Greece to the end of the Sacred War. They include a masterly digest of whatever has been most ably written by English, German, and French scholars, on the difficult and widely-spread subject of Grecian history; and they exhibit abundant evidence of a long, searching, and critical study of the historians, orators, poets, and moralists of Greece.

Art. VII. 1. *Memorial of the Congregational Union on the case of the imprisoned Churchwardens in Wales. December 7.*

2. *Resolutions of the Board of Baptist Ministers in London, and of the Baptist Union, on the same. December 12 - 18.*

WE have often been told, but never believed it, that the Church of England is the most 'tolerant church' in the world. It is true the assertion is attended with the somewhat suspicious circumstance that we have only the Church's own word for it, and this with us, does not go very far. We are disposed to say of many of the assertions of this vain-glorious and garrulous matron, what Johnson said of Macpherson, that we shall pay more attention to what she proves, than to what she affirms.

The claim to this excessive lenience, this amiable softness, this spirit of excessive tolerance, is certainly one of the most extraordinary exhibitions of effrontery or self-delusion ever exhibited, even by that most impudent and most self-ignorant of things, a body corporate. 'E cœlo descendit, γινῶθι σεαυτον,' says the Latin poet.

' . . . . . From heaven

Came down that glorious maxim, know thyself ;'

but for any great good this maxim has done the Church of England, it might as well have remained in the place where the poet says it came from. Swift somewhere tells a tale of the various animals coming to confess their respective faults, when, as might be expected, each makes a humorous display of his own want of self-knowledge. Amongst the rest, the hog with penitence and shame acknowledges that he is somewhat too particular about his eating, and is of a delicate and squeamish appetite. The ass pleads guilty to an excess of humour,—admits he was always too fond of a jest, somewhat unduly given to wit, pleasantry, and unbecoming levity of mind. The ignorance of *self*, displayed in these cases, is not greater, in our apprehension, than that displayed by the Church of England, when she arrogates this merit of extravagant toleration, and hints, that if she *has* a fault, it is that of excessive forbearance and mildness ; thus making even

' Her failings lean to virtue's side.'

For our own parts, while we do not deny that the Church of England has failings, and plenty of them, we are not at all aware that the vast column they form, inclines in any such way from the perpendicular. In particular, as to the spirit of toleration, we cannot find from history that she can justly lay claim to it, whether in excess or otherwise, whether as a failing or a virtue. The following we know to be historical facts, and we defy the Church of England to prove the contrary ;—that from the Reformation downwards, the Church of England has done nothing for the extension of religious liberty, nor willingly abandoned any of the



power to persecute ; that every fragment of liberty we enjoy has been torn from her, not granted by her ; that no one measure, the object of which has been to extend the privileges or mitigate the sufferings of the victims of ecclesiastical tyranny, no one measure designed to repeal or abolish the oppressive power formerly possessed, or to abridge any of the means and appliances of oppression, has ever emanated from *her*. In almost *every* instance, the majority of her bishops, her dignitaries, and her clergy have *opposed* every such measure at the time it was introduced ; or they have shown by their sullen and grumbling acquiescence, how little they sympathized with it, how heartily they regretted it, and how gladly, if their power had been equal to their will, they would have maintained the system of oppression inviolable. We are far from meaning that there are many clergy of the present day, who would willingly go back to the times, when they could imprison, pillory, and fine at will, those who dissented from them ; we should hope for the credit of human nature that an Ebenezer Morris is not to be met with in every parish. But we mean that in every stage of the history of religious liberty, the church has always doggedly resisted further progress, as long as it could, and yielded with the very worst possible grace, when it was able no longer to resist. She herself has never taken any part in opening the doors of the prison, or in striking off the manacles of the oppressed. Sulky silence, and mute but reluctant submission, have ever been the utmost that the Church has contributed to the progress or extension of religious freedom. We deny not that there have been many liberal-minded *individuals* of her communion, who have pleaded the cause of toleration ; but that the Church of England has no right to adduce them as proof of what the Church of England has done in this great cause, is evident, not only inasmuch as they were *individuals*, whose sentiments were at variance with those of the bulk of the Church ; but, inasmuch as they have generally been heartily hated, on account of their very liberality, by the Church herself. When we ask, therefore, what the Church has done for religious freedom, we do not mean, what have individuals done, whom the Church herself has hated and despised, but what the Church has done in her collective capacity,—with the concurrence of the majority of her prelates and her clergy. It is never difficult to tell what are the prevailing opinions and feelings of a large corporation. Now, when were those of the Church of England in favour of *any* measure the object of which was, to extend religious freedom so long as it was possible to resist it ; when were they not *against* any such measure, so long as resistance could be successfully offered ? How tardily was Toleration itself granted ! With what jealousy was every scheme that at all favored it watched, and with what obstinacy opposed, long after the most conclusive demonstration had been afforded not



only of the wickedness, but of the utter fruitlessness of persecution! And after all, we were indebted for the acquiescence of the church in this measure less to any wisdom which experience had taught her, than to the necessity of the times. The founder of the new dynasty was determined upon it; the obstinacy of the nonjuring prelates, and the appointment of many of the personal friends and adherents of William, infused a sudden and unexpected liberality into the bench of bishops. Yet how completely was the same monarch baffled in all those attempts at 'Comprehension' on which his heart was so intent, and which would have gone far to remedy the gross injustice of the 'Act of Uniformity.' How obstinately did the church still foster the narrow and exclusive spirit which animated the framers of that illiberal, that iniquitous measure. Nay, there were not wanting those who even maintained, in spite of the most solemn pledges, that the Toleration Act itself should be enacted only for a time, and in such a way as to be revoked at pleasure. They thought, as such men have thought of any measure which contemplated any similar object, that it was going too far—that it was yielding too much; they would have liked very well to retain a portion of the machinery of persecution; to have been cruel on a small scale, if they could not be cruel on a large one. They would rather, no doubt, have continued tigers, than be doomed to transmigrate into the bodies of musquitoes,—but they were willing to suck blood like musquitoes, rather than not suck it at all. They would have liked very well to continue terrible as well as mischievous, but if that was impossible, it would still have been some solace of their malignity, to vex and annoy.

No, in that noble pile of muniments and charters which constitutes the fabric of our religious liberty, there is not one single stone, from the foundation to the pinnacle, which has been laid there by the hands of the Church of England; if there be, let it be pointed out, and we will acknowledge the obligation. We again ask, what measure that contemplated the extension of religious liberty, has ever been introduced by the bishops of the Church of England into the House of Lords, supported by a majority of those right-reverend men, sympathized with by the great body of their clergy,—petitioned for by them,—clamoured for,—as is always the case when men are hearty in their desires for any measure they think *good*? Nay, what measure of the kind has ever, we do not say been carried by the aid of the church, but been permitted to pass without much grumbling from her? We again say there is none; and we defy the advocates of 'this most tolerant church in Christendom,' to point out any. No, the toleration of the Church has ever been submission, and nothing more—compliance with necessity, not concession from choice. All that we enjoy has been *wrung* from her; and we rejoice in the fact. We should have been sorry to be under the slightest obligations

to her, and for very justifiable reasons. We feel glad that she who as long as she could was our tyrant, has not insulted us with occasional acts of capricious lenity; that she cannot mock us with the boast of petty benefactions, as a compensation for great injuries, and great insults. It is the last degradation that can befall a man when his enemy tells him that he has been the recipient of his favors; the highest gratification of an insolent malignity, to admonish him of the debt, and to tell him how grateful he ought to be! We rejoice that the Church of England cannot throw this in our teeth; and our consciences sit light indeed, under a sense of any obligations she has conferred upon us.

Such then is, and ever has been, the toleration of the Church of England—of this ‘most tolerant Church in Christendom;’ it has been a gift which she *could* not withhold; it has been the generosity of the dying miser, who is compelled to leave his pelf; the temperance of the drunkard, who passes the door of the public house, because he has not got a stiver in his pocket; the honesty of the thief who is shut up in Newgate; the fasting of the beggar who has got no food; the harmlessness of the snake that has had its fangs extracted; the tameness of some wild beast in the Zoological Gardens, who hungrily glares at you through the bars of his prison! We all know what these would do if they could; that in all the cases, virtue, like the toleration of the Church, is *compulsory*. Indeed, whether the point in dispute be *toleration* or *church-rates*, the Church of England is equally and most consistently, a hater of the voluntary principle. In short, the toleration of the Church of England seems to consist mainly in persecuting only according to law, not in foregoing the exorbitant powers which laws may give, nor in seeking to repeal those laws when they give such exorbitant power. She does not now persecute after the fashion of the Five-mile Act, nor even after the Test and Corporation Acts, for the law no longer permits it; she merely imprisons for church-rates; institutes expensive suits against us in the Ecclesiastical Courts; incarcerates church-wardens for not going to church, and so forth. ‘Well,’ it may be said, ‘and is not this according to law?’ We say, ‘Yes, and that this is, and ever has been the toleration of the Church of England; she is tolerant ‘so far as the law or the fear of public opinion compels her to be ‘so, and no further.’ A truly tolerant spirit would not only induce her not to employ inordinate power while in her hands, but she would disdain to be invested with it; the great body of her dignitaries and clergy would not rest till the employing or not employing such disgraceful instruments of oppression was no longer left to be determined by the sense or folly, the liberality or bigotry, the benevolence or malice of the individual. As it is, their only defence is, that they use, or are willing to retain, if they do not individually *use* the power that the law allows them.



We again say, we grant it, and that this is the extent of the toleration of the Church of England, to persecute only in the forms of the law. This is all they do, and this is all Shylock did; they say with him, 'I stay here on my bond;' they demand nothing more than the 'pound of flesh,' which the law allows them. One difference there is indeed, between such as actually *avail* themselves of their legal privileges of persecution and the ferocious Jew. *He* is determined to have his revenge, though at the expense of his avarice. When Bassanio offers him double the amount of the bond, if he will take that in lieu of the penalty, and says 'For thy three thousand ducats, here is six;' Shylock replies,

'If every ducat in six thousand ducats,  
Were in six parts, and every part a ducat,  
I would not draw them, I would have my bond.'

We question whether such clerical persecutors as certain parts of Wales can supply, would exhibit quite the same hardihood; if they could get a good share of the spoils, they would no doubt prefer inflicting fines to inflicting imprisonment. It would questionless be in many cases a sore trial between their cupidity and their vindictiveness, but in general we apprehend that 'the ducats' would get the day.

But it may be replied, 'it is in comparatively few cases that churchmen have proceeded to these lengths. What are you making such a hue and cry about? It is only some few *hundreds* of poor wretches, whose goods are distrained for non-payment of church-rates; it is only here and there that a man is sent to prison for not paying that impost, or for not attending Church; so that you see, the Church is very merciful, and contents herself with much *less* than the law allows her.' To this we answer—first, that the instances in which the Church *can* go these lengths are not so very frequent; but, when opportunities do arise, they seem to be seized with a laudable avidity. There are, for example, comparatively few dissenting churchwardens throughout the country, and if it were not for the abominable penalty attached to the non-performance of that obnoxious office, there would be none; and we trust that, in spite of it, there very soon will be none. Secondly, we give a considerable body of the clergy credit for sagacity enough to perceive that the state of public opinion may render it in the highest degree dangerous to push matters to extremity; that if they do so, they may invite and necessitate still further limitations of their power. All of them are not so stone-blind to the signs of the times, and the critical position of the Church, as the Rev. Ebenezer Morris. We have not the slightest doubt, that many of them condemn as unwise and impolitic the very cruelties which would never shock them as unchristian and unjust.—But, thirdly, our chief reply to any such argument in favour of the tolerance of the Church, is, that it is as



plain as any thing can make it,—that whatever liberality may characterize the comparatively few, the general spirit of the clergy sympathizes with the conduct of these insolent men. If they were shocked by it, if they disapproved of it, if they felt as they *ought* to do, that it is a stigma and a disgrace, could they or would they be silent? Has the diocesan done any thing in the recent case at Llanelly? Have any of the neighbouring clergy protested against it? Has any organ of the Church protested against it? Quite the contrary. Most of them openly defend—not one we ever heard of condemns it. Now we say, that if the same spirit did not secretly pervade the *mass* of the clergy (though they may not dare to act upon it) they could not sit down in quiet under what they would then feel to be an insult to the Establishment. Nor, as we have already said, would they rest till the power which might be thus abused was no longer left to the discretion of the individual. No; whether we look at the impudent effrontery with which some defend these proceedings, or the silent acquiescence of others, we never can believe that the mass of the clergy are not animated by the same spirit, or that they would not do the very same thing, if they had the same plenitude of audacity and folly. The fact is, however, that the cases in which the clergy have lately manifested a disposition to push to the utmost the power of oppression with which they are still armed, have recently increased, and are increasing; this could not be, unless the spirit of the Establishment sympathized with such proceedings; it could not be, if it were understood, that they were looked upon with the abhorrence they merit. Many of the clergy seem resolved to go to the most hazardous lengths—to indulge their vindictive spirit to the utmost extremities—to put in requisition against us the whole oppressive machinery of the ecclesiastical courts—to pursue the most tortuous and vindictive measures to obtain their end—to revive antiquated laws, or, as in the recent case of Llanelly, to set in operation against some obnoxious individual, a law which had never been acted upon in any other case, and which therefore was tacitly considered by all parties, dead. Of the many recent cases of persecution which have come before the public, that at Llanelly is in every respect the most disgusting, whether we consider the motives in which it appears to have originated, or the manner in which it has been carried on.

As it is doubtless the purpose of Mr. Ebenezer Morris to make himself as notorious as possible, we shall endeavour in our poor way to aid his laudable ambition, and secure him, as far as our power goes, the great end of all his labours. The following letter, which appears in a Carmarthen journal, and has been copied into many of the London papers, should, we think, be preserved in a shape which may render it more easy of refer-

ence, and more likely to be preserved, at least so long as people care whether there be such a person as Mr. Ebenezer Morris in the world or not. We shall copy it therefore into our own pages. All works are apt to "go the way of all paper," as a German writer expresses it, and even our Welsh friend's name and exploits will often be put to base and ignominious uses. Still, it must be confessed, that the diurnal and hebdomadal prints are very apt to drop silently and unexpectedly into oblivion. The letter, which is a very simple one, is as follows:—

' The Rev. Ebenezer Morris is vicar of the parish of Llanelly, Carmarthenshire. It has been the uniform custom of this parish to elect, for its churchwardens, a Churchman, who is officially styled the vicar's warden, and a Dissenter, who is styled the parish warden; by which the duties of the office have been hitherto discharged to the mutual satisfaction of both Churchmen and Dissenters. In 1837, one John James, a respectable farmer, renting some two hundred acres, a member of the congregation of Independents in the town of Llanelly, was elected parish warden, conjointly with another parishioner as the vicar's warden. Soon after entering office, a Church-rate was proposed, and negatived by adjournment, and in lieu thereof a voluntary subscription was raised, sufficient for all the wants of the church, so that there was no objection to the parish warden on that score. As it had been the custom to elect a Dissenter to represent and to protect the interests of Dissenters, and as it had been an invariable practice in that parish to allow the parish warden to attend any other place of public worship, John James did not attend the parish church on the Sundays during his term of office, but frequented his own place of worship, as his predecessors in office had been accustomed to do. It must not be disguised, that at the general election of 1837, the Rev. Ebenezer Morris exhibited himself as an active partisan of the Tory candidate for the county, and that John James voted for Sir John Williams, the unsuccessful Liberal opponent. I will not venture to surmise whether his subsequent treatment by his vicar was a retaliatory movement in consequence of that vote. Your readers may think what they like on that head. In due time, however, after the general election, John James was cited in the Ecclesiastical Court of the Bishop of St. David's by his vicar—the pious and Reverend Ebenezer Morris—for that he, the said John James, had, during the term of his said office of churchwarden, absented himself from the church of the said parish of Llanelly on divers Sundays. This is the substance of the citation—not the precise wording.

' In this bare narrative of facts, it is indispensably necessary to state who and what is the judge of the court before whom the non-conforming churchwarden was cited to appear. That person is the Rev. David Archard Williams, an unbeneficed parson, rural dean and surrogate, and being besides judge of the Ecclesiastical Court—the known and acknowledged editor of that most furiously rabid Tory paper the *Carmarthen Journal*. The defendant appeared on the citation—pleaded ignorance of the offence—offered in excuse or mitigation that he was a Dissenter, and that he had only acted as all his predeces-



sors in office had done ; but he pleaded in vain, and in vain he threw himself upon the mercy of the Court ! All that was proved against him was non-attendance at the parish church on certain Sundays, which he admitted. He was ordered to be admonished, and was admonished accordingly. On Friday, the 23rd November instant, the defendant was arrested for a sum of nearly £20, the costs of these proceedings, which he was wisely advised not to pay ; and, refusing to pay, he was dragged from his aged and bed-ridden wife, from all his duties as the master and head of a family, and from all his responsibilities as a parent, and was that night locked up in the common gaol of the county, where he now remains, a prisoner for conscience' sake, unable to procure his liberty by bail, or by the Insolvent Court, if either were desirable,—a prisoner with this conviction on his mind, 'that he shall not escape thence till he has paid the uttermost farthing.'

The facts of this case form a curious commentary on the workings of an Establishment. According to the theory of the Church, the Rev. Ebenezer Morris took upon him the ecclesiastical functions under the immediate promptings of the Holy Ghost. He is, therefore, we ought to suppose, intent solely upon the spiritual interests of the flock over which he is made overseer ; and into his great solicitude for their welfare must all his recent conduct be resolved. We are, of course, called upon to believe, that he caused Mr. James to be cited before the ecclesiastical courts, put to legal expenses, and afterwards sent to prison, purely to promote his spiritual interests. It was to rescue these, though at the expense of his time, his substance, and his liberty ! To believe this would, indeed, require the faith that can remove mountains—aye, and swallow them too.

That ecclesiastical power—whether rightful or not, whether such as Christ gave or never gave—was in this case merely prostituted to the purposes of a vindictive malice, would of course be a most dreadful supposition, and the spectacle of a clergyman doing this, in the last degree disgusting. What sort of emotions the conduct of Mr. Ebenezer Morris is calculated to elicit must be left to the judgment of the reader. We shall merely point out the most extraordinary features of the case.—In the first place, not a word is said to Mr. James until *after the expiration of his year of churchwardenship* :\* and the first intimation he had of the deep interest his pastor took in his spiritual well-being came in the shape of a citation to appear before an ecclesiastical court. How admirably all this was in harmony with the rule prescribed in the gospel, 'if thy brother offend against thee, go and tell him his fault alone,' we need not say. But, perhaps Mr. Morris may say, that he does not consider Mr. James his brother ; and we fully believe him, since he certainly does not treat him as one. But wherein

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\* This has been contradicted since the letter above cited was written ; with what truth we know not.



is the use of talking of all this? It would be of about as much use to hold such discourse to a New Zealander, or an inhabitant of Kamschatka, as to clergymen who would fine and imprison for non-attendance at Church. They stand upon the law of the land; and what have the laws of the gospel to do with them?

Secondly, it will be observed that this law had never before been acted upon; this surely afforded abundant reason to believe that it might be violated with impunity, and naturally led, in the case of a Dissenter, to a neglect of it. It was in fact practically obsolete. This circumstance also discloses the real motives which lie at the foundation of the prosecution, and rob the reverend persecutor of the poor excuse which might have been pleaded from that impartial and invariable administration of the law which would have been the result of a consistent, instead of a capricious, bigotry.

As to the political delinquencies of Mr. James stated in the above letter, and as to whether they did not sharpen the reverend man's desire to rescue this member of his flock from the error of his ways, and his determination to try the wholesome admonitions and discipline of the Ecclesiastical Court, we shall restrict ourselves to the prudent language of the letter; 'we will not venture to surmise, whether his subsequent treatment by his vicar was a retaliatory movement in consequence of his vote. Our readers may think what they like on that head.' If, however, this was not the case, we are left to wonder at the capricious kindness which consulted the spiritual welfare of Mr. James so much more than that of any of his predecessors in the churchwardenship. While they, abandoned reprobates! were left to pursue their way to perdition—not attending the parish church—losing all the inestimable benefit of Mr. Ebenezer Morris's preaching, and all this without one warning, one admonition, Mr. James is lavishly treated to all the sanative methods and discipline of the Ecclesiastical Courts; on him Mr. Morris, in his mysterious goodness, sends what Jeremy Taylor calls 'the mercy of an affliction.' How grateful ought he to be for that apparent cruelty, but real kindness, which exercising a sovereign preterition upon all preceding churchwardens, would not let him do as others did, and run on in the same profane course with impunity. Perhaps, however, after all, the politics and political conduct of Mr. James may throw some light on the matter. But on this, as already said, we will not speculate; 'we will not venture to surmise,' &c., and 'our readers will think what they please, &c.'

Thirdly; the writer states that Mr. James 'pleaded ignorance of the offence; offered in excuse or mitigation, that he had only acted as all his predecessors in office had done.' He then proceeds to give us the superfluous information that 'he pleaded in vain, in vain threw himself upon the court.' Of course he did! What does the writer think that Ecclesiastical Courts are made of?

‘Throw himself upon the mercy of the court!’ He would be received much in the same gracious manner, if he were to throw himself out of window!

Such are the chief facts of this edifying case. Another of a similar character has just occurred; and both the objects of this petty persecution were till recently in gaol. Mr. James is now released upon payment of the £20.\* In the latter case, there appears to be a less scrupulous regard to law—less of Shylock’s caution—and we sincerely trust, that the persecutors may be found to have outwitted themselves.

It appears, that a rate had been refused in the parish in which this unhappy dissenting churchwarden had officiated. He had, therefore no funds wherewithal to meet those expenses with which the privileged sect so decently burdens the unprivileged; in short, he was cited for not having provided the sacramental bread and wine which we presume it was modestly expected he should pay for out of his own pocket. It can scarcely be a question, whether if the churchwarden had *not* been a Dissenter, he would have been thus mal-treated.

Mr. David Jones, the other party who has been cited into the Consistory Court of St. David’s, was the Dissenting, or rather, the Parish Churchwarden, of the neighbouring parish of Llanon, last year; of which the Rev. Promovent is perpetual curate. Morris is promovent here also! Our readers will be curious to know the amount of costs. Upwards of £80 already! What may be his situation in life? A weaver. And what religious denomination does he belong to? The Socinian. It may be asked, has he voluntarily undertook the office? No; the very judge of the court into which he is dragged *compelled* him to serve the office, and now *fines* him in costs—in overwhelming costs—for not doing what Jones warned him he could not do, namely, compel the parish to make a church-rate; and at the same time, expresses in his very decree, his readiness to swear in some other ‘fit person.’ It will be asked, where is the Perpetual Curate’s Churchwarden all this while? Why he is a rich churchman, who *has never been called on* to qualify at all; but the duties are maliciously devolved upon this poor Socinian weaver. It is hardly necessary to add, that the weaver is still in prison.

As we have already said, the spirit of the church is daily becoming more oppressive. The disposition to revive against us slumbering or practically obsolete statutes, to resort to every

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\* But we learn, that no sooner is this poor persecuted farmer released [he was escorted to his home from gaol, a distance of fifteen miles, by a troop of his brother farmers, all mounted], than the worthy *Promovent* (*not* Persecutor), Ebenezer Morris, gives notice to his successor in the office of Churchwarden, also a Dissenter, that he shall be served in the same way if he neglect to attend his parish church!

expedient of vexatious litigation to annoy and crush us ; above all, to set in motion the whole machinery of the Ecclesiastical Courts, is not to be mistaken. We trust that these infatuated men will go on as they have begun ; we trust that the generation of Ebenezer Morris will still do after their kind ; for the farther they go and the more thoroughly they rouse the spirit of the people, the more intense will be the popular abhorrence, the more complete and searching the reform.

We trust especially that the hateful Ecclesiastical Courts will not abate one iota of their pretensions and their insolence, but that they will employ to the utmost extremity all that authority, and all those prerogatives which the negligence of past ages has left them, and which have hitherto been overlooked and uncondemned, only because they were seldom resorted to. Let their mischievous character once be understood, and they will be swept away with the besom of destruction.

It is the bounden duty of every Englishman who values liberty and hates oppression, who reveres that civil constitution which secures the one, and averts the other, and who wishes to see it working harmoniously, to pray and strive for the abolition of these abominable courts, or at least, for such a reform as shall restrain their tyranny to those who like to live under it. If the members of the Church of England are pleased to be bondsmen, well and good ; there is no disputing about tastes ; they are quite welcome to their very peculiar enjoyments. But we can very readily dispense with them. We rejoice to see that the Dissenters throughout the country are expressing their indignation in the most decided manner. The Congregational Board has memorialized the Government, and the Baptist Board has published the following resolutions.

‘ Resolved :—

‘ 1. That in the opinion of this Board, the conduct of the Reverend Ebenezer Morris is an atrocious violation both of the sacred rights of conscience, and of the obligations of Christian charity ; and that it is destitute of any plea, either of necessity or usage.

‘ That such conduct on the part of a beneficed Clergyman of the Church of England, is adapted to awaken the indignation, not only of the Dissenting community, but also of all just and honorable men.

‘ That the Ecclesiastical Courts are thus anew exhibited as an instrument in the hands of the clergy of arbitrary and cruel oppression ; and that a regard to the just liberties of Englishmen requires that these useless, unconstitutional, and vexatious Courts should be for ever extinguished.

‘ That the Board highly applaud and honor the firmness and consistency of Mr. James, in suffering himself to be dragged to prison, rather than pay the costs of this unrighteous suit ; and that they truly sympathise with him and his afflicted family, under this severe wrong.

‘ 2. That the still more recent case of Mr. Jones, Churchwarden of



Llanon, who for a similar imputed offence, has in like manner been prosecuted by the same Reverend Ebenezer Morris, gives aggravated force to all the sentiments expressed in the foregoing resolution.

‘ 3. That in the opinion of this Board it is exceedingly undesirable, and tending to uphold the unscriptural system of Established Churches, for Dissenters, under any circumstances whatever, to accept the office of Churchwarden.

‘ 4. That all the circumstances of these cases concur, with a variety of other considerations, deeply to impress the Board with the utter incompatibility of a State Church with the civil freedom and religious equality, which are the inherent rights of every human being; and that it is, therefore, the imperative duty of every Protestant Dissenter to seek by all constitutional and Christian means, the speedy severance of the Established Church from the present degrading and unholy alliance with the State.

The Memorial of the Congregational Union is equally admirable. We would gladly transfer the whole of it to our pages, but the press of other matter restricts us to the following :—

‘ Your lordship may express surprise at this most unusual prosecution, and inquire how it may be accounted for. The churchwarden of Llanelly, at the last election for the county of Carmarthen, voted in favour of the liberal candidate. Here is a case to be pondered by your lordship, as a lover of your country, and a guide of her councils. It furnishes one instance, capable of being made tangible and public, of what has been of late undergone in many thousands of cases, of similar spirit and effect throughout this land, by parishioners, tenants, tradesmen, for the support given by their votes to your lordship’s administration, and to the liberal principles on which it is conducted. Generally they are but private relations that are violated in this extensive persecution of those who exercise their franchise in support of whatever is liberal in religion and politics, and therefore the wrongs inflicted do not admit of detection, exposure, redress. In this instance, happily, laws and courts have been employed as the instruments of oppression, which as much need to be reformed or abolished, as the spirit which has availed itself of their instrumentality, requires to be exhibited and rebuked. Dissenters may find the Vicar of Llanelly more their friend than the churchwarden.

‘ Your lordship will at once see, that to say this transaction affords an intimation of the importance of an early and satisfactory settlement of the question of Church-rates, and of all points connected with it, in the parochial administration of this country, would be to offer a most partial, incomplete interpretation of its real import; for though the affair be thought trivial, it is not therefore the less instructive. It will indicate to your lordship’s far-seeing mind what some, it may be many, men are prepared to inflict for the enforcement of taxation in support of a religion not approved by those on whom the impost is levied, and what other men, perhaps not a few, are prepared to endure in resisting it. There may be, your lordship, in the ecclesiastical polity of our country, principles involved, which they who are resolved in practice to enforce, must arm themselves with weapons long unused.

No greater honour and blessing could possibly attend your lordship's administration, than that by gradually removing causes of discord, by carefully revising the canon as well as the statute law of England, by cautiously applying to all matters of religion the principles of a just equality—your lordship and your noble colleagues might earn the enviable renown of guiding the struggles of the age through a course of gradual and safe melioration, to that result sure to arrive at length, whether at an earlier or more remote period—whether by a progress more stormy or more calm, in which governments will deal equally with subjects of all religious persuasions.'

The ecclesiastical courts are, in fact, in many respects, an 'imperium in imperio;' their anomalous, and we do not hesitate to say, in many respects, unconstitutional authority, crosses and thwarts the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts of law, and is sometimes quite independent of the civil power. We say once more, that we trust they will go on as they have begun, and that they will never pause from mischief till they have worked out their own destruction.

In the mean time, the annoyances and persecutions which will lead to such a result are doubtless hard to bear. Still it is a comfort that they cannot be carried to the lengths to which a despotic temper, and a vindictive malice would fain urge those who indulge in them. We may congratulate ourselves, that in our age persecutions cannot last long, and even while they do last, must be conducted on a petty scale. Other ages of the church have had their more formidable persecutions—the more terrible plagues of hail-stones, lightning, and blood. We must learn to endure our annoying and vexatious ones—the plagues of lice, and frogs, and flies, with which it pleases Providence to visit us in the shape of such clergymen as can inform against, and cause to be fined and imprisoned, those who do not attend the parish church.

As to the particular case of Mr. James, he must have some consolation, that though imprisoned for it, he at least escaped the terrible infliction of the Rev. Ebenezer Morris's discourses. This, in our opinion, is no inconsiderable drawback, even on the penalties of incarceration. We should really have some hesitation in choosing between a cell in Newgate, and a compulsory attendance on the ministry of such a very peculiar successor of the apostles.

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### **Brief Notices.**

*A Book of the Passions.* By G. P. R. James, Esq. Illustrated with Sixteen splendid Engravings, from Drawings by the most eminent Artists, under the Superintendence of Mr. Charles Heath. London: Longman and Co.

Of the engravings of this volume it would be difficult to speak too highly. Destitute of the bold and startling character which distin-

gnish the Illustrations of some other volumes, they combine a grace and loveliness on which the eye rests with pleasure, and from which the sweetest aliment of human affections is drawn. This is especially the case with some of the female figures, such as Leonora, Laura, Blanche of Navarre and Maria de Arguas. The artists have embodied with admirable skill the distinctive characteristics they designed to personify, and have spread over their portraits a softened gracefulness which every heart can appreciate. The literary contents of the volume will not add to Mr. James's reputation. The drudgery and effort of taskwork are too apparent, and everything is in consequence exaggerated and overwrought. From the commencement to the close of the volume the author is evidently struggling to complete an engagement formed under other influences than that of an 'inward passion.' The volume contains six tales designed to exhibit the several passions of remorse, jealousy, revenge, love, despair, and hatred, but there is not in either one of them those nice pencillings of human nature,—those delicate shades and involutions of character which bespeak an intimate acquaintance with the inner man. Much of this, we are aware, is attributable to the circumstances of the case, and an excuse may be pleaded on this account. We cannot, however, admit its validity, and respectfully suggest to authors like Mr. James, that they are perilling their fame by undertaking such literary job-work as the present.

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*A Commentary on the acts of the Apostles, in the Catechetical Form; for the use of Families, Schools, and Bible Classes.* The first of a Series. By John Morison, D.D. London: Ward and Co.

This excellent little volume has grown out of the author's pastoral labors, and is eminently adapted to promote their success. Formed from the notes prepared for the use of his Bible classes, it appears in its present form, in the hope of wider usefulness than the primary destination of its materials permitted. In this hope we doubt not that Dr. Morison will be fully justified, for the volume is happily distinguished by a combination of the qualities required in such a work. To an intimate knowledge of the contents of 'The Acts of the Apostles,' there are added elucidations of the historical references of the book, brief portraiture of the principal personages introduced, and interesting delineations of the habits and manners of the times. The author has evidently sought, without any of the technicalities of criticism, or parade of scholarship, to furnish his young readers with the results of extensive and well considered research. Above all the volume is distinguished by an affectionate and pastor-like solicitude for the religious benefit of the young. Dr. Morison is a pædobaptist, and does not conceal his sentiments, but there is nothing in his mode of stating them that can be offensive to any candid mind. We had intended to have indulged ourselves in some extracts in support of the favorable opinion we have expressed, but the crowded state of our pages compels us to refrain. Had we done so, we need not have added a single word; as it is, we earnestly recommend the parents and guardians of youth, and all others who are interested in the welfare of the rising genera-



tion, to avail themselves of the aid, and to confer on their charge the benefit, proffered by the volume.

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*The Field, the Garden, and the Woodland.* Designed for the Young. By a Lady. 12mo. Charles Knight & Co.

This little work does not profess to treat systematically of Botany ; it is simply designed to place before the young reader important facts connected with the vegetable kingdom—facts, which if once known, cannot fail to impress the mind with the pleasures and advantages resulting from the study of botany and nature generally.

As the present volume is expressly written for the young, and with a view to excite them to the study of botany, we sincerely hope that it will meet with a wide circulation ; indeed, we cannot too strongly recommend it to parents and instructors as a book *peculiarly fit for youth*. The early letters contain valuable information respecting flowers—the dispersion of seeds, and the profuseness of vegetation ;—the succeeding give an account of roots—their uses, and of the adaptation of roots to soils. One of the most sensible and pleasing letters, is that on the effects of sea-air on vegetation, which embraces a description of saline plants, sea-weeds, and various other matter, which we regret our limits will not allow us to mention.

It is an elegant volume, admirably got up, and illustrated with numerous wood-cuts. We cannot dismiss it without congratulating the Authoress on the able manner in which she has executed her design, and sincerely hoping that the work may meet with the success it deserves.

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*A Complete English-Latin Dictionary ; for the Use of Colleges and Schools.* By the Rev. J. E. Riddle, M.A. London : Longman.

A few months ago we noticed the Latin-English portion of Mr. Riddle's Dictionary at some length. The English-Latin part is now published, and the work is finished. We congratulate the Author on the completion of his laborious undertaking. The English-Latin part is very far superior to those which are in common use. It is a scholar-like and useful book ; and we recommend it to be adopted in schools.

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*Travels in Town.* By the Author of 'Random Recollections of the Lords and Commons,' &c. Two Volumes. London, Saunders and Otley. 1839.

A third series, under a different name, of 'The Great Metropolis,' in which the author, with his usual diligence and tact, has managed to collect a good deal of curious and interesting information. The subjects of his chapters will sufficiently bespeak the nature of the information conveyed. They are as follows: the Streets, the Park, Tattersal's and the Turf, Downing Street, the British Museum, the Newsmen, the Post Office, Bookselling—Paternoster Row, and Religious Denominations. The last of these topics, occupies nearly two hundred and fifty pages of the second volume. In the treatment of the subjects involved, the author throws aside the reserve observed in his former publications, and deals some hard blows at the champions

of prelatical assumption and of Oxford protestantism. Dr. Chalmers and the clergy of the Kirk generally, come in for their share of reproof, on account of the zeal they have recently evinced on behalf of the half-popish Church of England. We are not surprised to find that these strictures have engaged the notice of some of the clergy of the Scotch Church resident in London, but we confess our astonishment at the statement made by the Rev. John Cumming, in a communication addressed to the Editor of 'The Morning Advertiser,' that, 'the Church of Scotland never cherished feelings of antipathy either to the Church of England, to Episcopacy, or to liturgies.' How to account for such an affirmation we are utterly at a loss. The Rev. Gentleman is either grossly ignorant of the history of his own church, or—but we will not suppose the possibility of such an alternative.

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*The Call to Hear the Church, examined.* By the Rev. John Ely. Leeds: J. Y. Knight. London: Jackson and Walford.

2. *The Anti-Christian and Pernicious Doctrines of the Church Catechism, containing an affectionate and faithful Appeal to Parents, on the Impropriety and Danger of allowing their Children to learn it.* By the Rev. W. Thorn. London: Jackson and Walford.

Two useful little tracts well suited for general and gratuitous circulation. Mr. Ely refutes with considerable ability, and in an admirable spirit, the proud claims of the dominant church, while Mr. Thorn faithfully warns against the pestilent errors to which she is giving currency.

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*The Night of Toil; or a Familiar Account of the Labors of the first Missionaries in the South Sea Islands.* By the Author of the 'Peep of Day.' London: J. Hatchard.

An admirable present for young people, at this social season of the year. The volume is written in a familiar style, and combines more than the attractions of fiction, with the veritable character of history. It has been drawn up from the 'Missionary Transactions,' the 'Quarterly Chronicle,' and such works as 'Bennet and Tyerman's Voyage,' and 'Ellis's Polynesia.' Though written apparently by a Churchman, it is distinguished by a candid spirit as well as by a discriminating judgment.

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*Memoirs of Mrs. Mary Tatham, late of Nottingham.* By the Rev. Joseph Beaumont, M.D. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1838.

The author of this interesting memoir has so judiciously arranged the papers of Mrs. Tatham, that from her own pen her whole history is related. Mrs. Tatham was a woman of eminent piety, expansive benevolence, and untiring zeal. Her denominational preferences were decidedly Wesleyan, yet she cherished an affectionate attachment to 'all that love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth.' All sectarian distinctions were overlooked in her efforts to promote the Redeemer's glory. 'For me to live is Christ,' was the motto she adopted, and in her life most fully exemplified.

There are but few memoirs which so strikingly delineate female

character, distinguished by spirituality of mind, during so long a period, or supplying so full and well-sustained a portraiture of an 'old disciple,' as that which is here presented; and though we must be allowed to differ from some of the doctrinal points introduced and advocated, yet we can recommend the work as well executed, and one which will compensate the serious and attentive reader.

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*Random Recollections of Exeter Hall in 1834—1837.* By one of the Protestant Party. London: Nisbet and Co. 1838.

The reading of the 'Random Recollections of the House of Lords,' the author states, induced him to think that a 'similar sketch of the leading speakers at Exeter-Hall might not prove unacceptable to some members of its religious and charitable institutions.' The volume opens with a very accurate description of the building, and a brief history of its origin. We regret that more candour and impartiality in selecting and portraying the speakers introduced has not been shown. The jaundice of ecclesiastico-toryism seems to pervade the moral constitution of the author; and this is the only way we can account for the fact, that every speaker he undertakes to describe, is *party coloured*. We advise him not to attempt painting again until he has been cured of the disease, but to leave that work to those whose vision is purged from the films of prejudice and bigotry.

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*Memoir of Mrs. Louisa A. Lowrie, of the Northern India Mission: with Introductory Notices.* By the Rev. E. P. Swift, the Rev. W. H. Pearce, and the Rev. A. Reed, D.D. London: Ward and Co.

We gladly welcome this interesting memoir as a valuable addition to transatlantic biography. This small volume is a compilation of Mrs. Lowrie's letters, all distinguished by great candour and eminent piety, but faithfully recording the trials and conflicts through which she passed. The reader may, in consequence, derive a knowledge of Mrs. L.'s character, not from the extravagant effusions of friendship, nor from the *egotism* of intentional autobiography, but from the exercises of her own mind, as they were communicated in a free epistolary correspondence. Mrs. Lowrie was devoted to the work of *female education in India*, and with what ardor and success she pursued this work, the memoir, fully illustrates. We cheerfully recommend the little volume to the attention of the young. And 'we hope that it, like the Memoirs of Mrs. Newel, Mrs. Judson, Mrs. Winslow, and others, will be instrumental in promoting the genuine spirit of missions, and more especially among the female members of the Redeemer's family in our own country.'

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*A Manual of the Evidences of Christianity; chiefly intended for Young Persons.* By James Steele. Edinburgh: J. Johnstone. 1838.

The author well deserves the thanks of the young, for preparing this valuable pocket companion. It is an admirable compendium of the Evidences. It is better adapted for the use of Bible classes, and for those who have but little time to read, than any other work which has come under our notice. Its style possesses all the qualities of perspicuity, elegance, and force.



*Life's Lessons : a Tale.* By the Author of 'Tales that Might be True.' London: Charles Tilt.

We can not only sincerely but gladly recommend this little volume to all those parents and teachers that are desirous to put into the hands of the young, books at once interesting by their narrative, and full of the most useful lessons of life. We have here a truly delightful story, and the more delightful because it describes the process, in the most natural manner, by which a young lady, nourished into selfishness by the indulgent habits of wealthy society, is taught to see her own character, and to reform it. The fair Author, for it must be a lady, has rendered a good service by combatting the mischievous fallacy so much encouraged by the ordinary run of fictions, of looking for extraneous help, and fortunes dropping out of the clouds in times of difficulty; and teaching, that the true source of success and happiness lies in cheerful exertion, and a firm determination to adapt ourselves to our situation whatever it may be. We wish this excellent little volume the wide circulation which it deserves.

## **Literary Intelligence.**

*In the Press.*

The Rev. Dr. Wordsworth, Head Master of Harrow, is preparing for publication, in Monthly Parts, a Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical Work on Greece. The object of the Author is to render a Topographical Description of the country a medium for illustrations derived from the History, Mythology, Antiquities, and Art of that people.

The Cathedral Bell: a Tragedy, in Five Acts. By Jacob Jones, Barrister-at-Law, Author of 'The Stepmother,' 'The Anglo-Polish Harp,' and other works.

Memoirs on the Ruins of Babylon. By the late Claudius J. Rich, Esq., the Hon. East India Company's Resident at Bagdad. A new edition, with an Introduction and Notes. To which is added, a Journal of his Tour to Persepolis. The whole illustrated by numerous Engravings from the original drawings, and of Inscriptions from the Ruins of Persepolis, &c., &c., &c. Will be ready early in January.

In preparation, a History of the Fishes of Madeira. By the Rev. R. T. Lowe. With original figures from nature of all the species, by the Hon. C. E. C. Norton and Miss Young. The materials for this undertaking are the result of several years' patient investigation; and continued revisal on the spot. Of several of the genera, and of the species, more than one-fourth part are either new, or have been hitherto imperfectly described. The figures will be engraved, and coloured by the same hands which, in co-operation with the Author, have originally drawn them, a combination much in favor of their accuracy and correctness.

Scripture Comparisons for the Young, with Pictorial Illustrations. By Ingram Cobbin, A.M., Author of 'The Child's Commentator,' 'Scripture Illustrations for the Young,' 'Scripture Proverbs,' &c.

The Sabbath-Book: being a Selection of Moral and Religious Pieces, from esteemed English Authors. By Charles Woodfall. Foolscep 8vo.

Solomon's Song of Songs; a new Translation, dedicated without permission to Dr. J. Pye Smith.

*Just Published.*

The Apostolical Authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews: an Inquiry in which the received Title of the Greek Epistle is vindicated, against the cavils of Objectors, Ancient and Modern, from Origen to Sir J. D. Michaelis, &c. By Rev. Charles Forster, B.D.

Scriptural Geology; or an Essay on the High Antiquity ascribed to the Organic Remains imbedded in Stratified Rocks, &c. By the Rev. George Young, D.D.

The Women of England; their Social Duties and Domestic Habits. By Mrs. Ellis.

Moral Views of Commerce, Society, and Politics; in Twelve Discourses. By the Rev. Orville Dewey.

Rudiments of English Composition; designed as a Practical Introduction to Correctness and Perspicuity in Writing, and to the Study of Criticism. By Alexander Reid, A.M.

A Letter to the Right Hon. the Lord Chancellor, on the Present State of the Law of Lunacy; with Suggestions for its Improvement. By a Barrister of the Inner Temple.

The Kingdom of Christ; or Hints on the Principles, Ordinances, and Constitution of the Catholic Church; in Letters to a Member of the Society of Friends. By F. Maurice, A.M. Three Volumes, 12mo.

The Student's Manual; designed by specific directions, to aid in forming and strengthening the Intellectual and Moral character and habits of the Student. By John Todd.

General Index to the Essays and Correspondence of the late John Walker. By William Barton.

Rollo at Play; or Safe Amusements. By the Rev. Jacob Abbott.

Observations on the Foundation of Morals; suggested by Professor Whewell's Sermons on the same subject. By Eugenius.

The Church Awakened: Report of Special Meetings for the Revival of Religion, held in Surrey Chapel, London, November 5, 1833, and following days.

The Practical Works of Richard Baxter: with a Preface, giving some Account of the Author, and of this Edition of his Practical Works; an Essay on his Genius, Works, and Times; and a Portrait. Four vols. imperial 8vo.

The Law of Christ respecting Civil Obedience, especially in the Payment of Tribute; with an Appendix of Documents and Notes: to which are added, Two Addresses on the Voluntary Church Controversy. By John Brown, D.D. Third Edition, improved and enlarged.

A Book of the Passions. By G. P. R. James, Esq. Illustrated with Sixteen Splendid Engravings; from Drawings by the most eminent Artists. Under the Superintendence of Mr. Charles Heath.

The Mabinogion, from the Llyfr Coch O Hergest and other Ancient Welsh Manuscripts: with an English Translation and Notes. By Lady Charlotte Guest. Part I., containing the Lady of the Fountain.

The Night of Toil; or a Familiar Account of the Labors of the First Missionaries in the South Sea Islands. By the Author of the 'Peep of Day.'

Cornelius the Centurion; or Meditations on the Tenth Chapter of Acts. From the German of F. A. Krummacher, D.D.

North American Review. No. CI.

The State in its Relations with the Church. By W. E. Gladstone, Esq., Student of Christchurch and M.P. for Newark.

Scriptural Gleanings, in a Chain of Doctrinal and Practical Principles. By the Rev. Alexander Pringle, D.D.

Essays on the Apocalypse; with Illustrations from English History. Second Edition, with considerable additions by R. B. Sanderson.

Seven Hundred Domestic Hints in every branch of Family Management. By a Lady.